




LIBRARY OF PRINCETON

MAY 15 2007

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

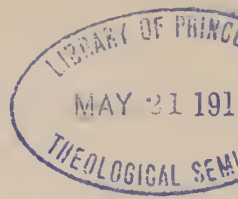




Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2017 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library







THE

✓  
PRINCETON  
REVIEW

---

Edited by Jonas H. Libbey

---

*FIFTY-NINTH YEAR*

---

JANUARY — JUNE

---

NEW YORK

1883





## JANUARY.

	PAGE
REVISION OF THE TARIFF . . . . .	I
DAVID A. WELLS, LL.D., D.C.L.	
AN EARLY AMERICAN VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES . . .	19
PROFESSOR FRANCIS BOWEN, HARVARD UNIVERSITY	
DISFRANCHISEMENT FOR CRIME . . . . .	46
JAMES FAIRBANKS COLBY	
THE THEOLOGICAL RENAISSANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ( <i>Second Article</i> ) . . . . .	67
PROFESSOR ALLEN, OF THE CAMBRIDGE EPISCOPAL SCHOOL	
ART AND ETHICS . . . . .	91
HENRY J. VAN DYKE, JR.	
THE LATEST IRISH LEGISLATION AND ITS PRINCIPLES .	111
SHELDON AMOS, LL.D., LONDON	

---

## MARCH.

THE UTAH PROBLEM . . . . .	129
HENRY RANDALL WAITE, WASHINGTON, D. C.	
A NEW EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION . . . . .	143
PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER	
ST. PAUL . . . . .	158
REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.	

THE HIDDEN HEART . . . . .	PAGE 170
THE LATE PROFESSOR TAYLER LEWIS, L.H.D.	
CONVICT LABOR AND THE LABOR REFORMERS . . . .	196
HON. A. S. MEYRICK	
AMERICAN MANUFACTURES . . . . .	213
FRANCIS A. WALKER, LL.D.	
THE ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN HINDOOISM AND CHRIST- IANITY . . . . .	224
SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, D.D.	

---

## MAY.

THE CONTENTS OF CHILDREN'S MINDS . . . . .	249
G. STANLEY HALL, PH.D., CAMBRIDGE	
MODERN COMEDY . . . . .	273
J. BRANDER MATTHEWS	
GRAMMAR AND ÆSTHETICS . . . . .	290
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, LL.D., JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY	
ART IN AMERICA IN 1883 . . . . .	311
CLARENCE COOK	
THE MOST RECENT PHASES OF THE TARIFF QUESTION .	321
HON. DAVID A. WELLS, LL.D., D.C.L.	
ON THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS . . . . .	340
PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY	





## THE CONTENTS OF CHILDREN'S MINDS.

IN October, 1869, the Pedagogical Society of Berlin issued a circular requesting the masters of the eighty-four established schools of that city to ascertain how many of the children who entered the primary classes that fall had seen and could name certain common animals, insects, and plants, had taken certain walks, visited specified parks, museums, etc. It is more common in that country than in our own to connect songs, poems, reading exercises, and object lessons with the locality with which the child is most familiar, so that not only does the matter of elementary instruction vary considerably with the geographical, zoological, and botanical character of the different towns, and often even with the surroundings of different schools in the same city, but much importance is attached to stated holiday and half-holiday walks which teachers are expected to conduct with their pupils for educational purposes. To "determine the individuality of the children so far as conditioned by the concepts arising from their immediate environment," for statistical uses, was the express purpose of the questions proposed. It was expected that this "entrance examination" scheme, as it was humorously called, would show in a more definite form than ever before the psychic peculiarities of the different school districts of Berlin, upon which, from preliminary tests, locality seemed to exert a surprising influence. Besides a score or so of topographical questions, however—such as the public buildings, squares, chief streets, suburban pleasure resorts, etc.—others pertaining to the home, the farm, objects in natural history, and the aspects of the heavens were added, and finally the children were asked if they had any notion of God, Christ, could tell a Bible story, say a hymn or prayer, or had ever heard either of four of the best known of Grimm's tales. At first many of the children were questioned in classes, till, on account of intimidation in the presence of others, and other errors arising from a desire to appear wiser or not more ignorant than their mates,

etc., it was found that more truthful results were obtained by questioning them in sections of eight or ten, altho this method nearly doubled the average ignorance displayed and quadrupled the work, which with one hundred and thirty-eight questions was no small addition to that already required of the subordinate teachers to whom it was mainly entrusted. Of a little over two thousand children to whom these questions were put reliable results were thought to be obtained from about one half, while some teachers expressed the opinion that even they had no value owing to the haste and not unfrequently the unwillingness with which the work was undertaken.<sup>1</sup>

It was with the advantages of many suggestions and not a few warnings from this attempt that the writer undertook, soon after the opening of the Boston schools in September last, to make out a list of questions suitable for obtaining an inventory of the contents of the mind of children of average intelligence on entering the primary schools of that city. All the local and many other of the German questions were for various reasons not suitable to children here, and the task of selecting those that should be so, tho perhaps not involving quite as many perplexing considerations as choosing an equally long list of normal words, was by no means easy. They must not be too familiar nor too hard and remote, but must give free and easy play to reason and memory. But especially, to yield most practical results, they should lie within the range of what children are commonly supposed or at least desired, by teachers and by those who write primary text-books and prescribe courses of instruction, to know. Many preliminary half-days of questioning small groups of children and receiving suggestions from many sources and the use of many primers, object-lesson courses, etc., now in use in this country were necessary before the first provisional list of one hundred and thirty-four questions was printed. The problem first had in mind was strictly practical; viz., what may city children be assumed to know and have seen by their teachers when they enter school; altho other purposes more psychological shaped many other questions used later.

The difficulties and sources of possible error in the use of such

<sup>1</sup> See abstract of these results in the Berlin *Statistisches Jahrbuch*. Vierter Jahrgang. S. 59.

questions are many. Not only are children prone to imitate others in their answers without stopping to think and give an independent answer of their own, but they often love to seem wise, and, to make themselves interesting, state what seems to interest us without reference to truth, divining the lines of our interest with a subtlety we do not suspect; if absurdities are doubted they are sometimes only the more protested, the faculties of some are benumbed and perhaps their tongues tied by bashfulness, while others are careless, listless, inattentive, and answer at random. Again, many questioners are brusque, lacking in sympathy or tact, or real interest or patience in the work, or perhaps regard it as trivial or fruitless. These and many other difficulties seemed best minimized by the following method which was finally settled upon and, with the co-operation of Mr. E. P. Seaver, superintendent of the Boston schools, put into operation. Four of the best trained and experienced kindergarten teachers were employed by the hour to question three children at a time in the dressing-room of the school by themselves alone, so as not to interrupt the school-work. No constraint was used, and, as several hours were necessary to finish each set, changes and rests were often needful, while by frequent correspondence and by meetings with the writer to discuss details and compare results uniformity of method was sought. The most honest and unembarrassed child's first answer to a direct question, e.g., whether it has seen a cow, sheep, etc., must rarely or never be taken without careful cross-questioning, a stated method of which was developed respecting many objects. If the child says it has seen a cow, but when asked its size points to its own finger-nail or hand and says, *so big*, as not unfrequently occurs, the inference is that it has at most only seen a picture of a cow, and thinks its size reproduced therein, and accordingly he is set down as deficient on that question. If, however, he is correct in size, but calls the color blue, does not know it as the source of milk, or that it has horns or hoofs,—several errors of the latter order have been generally allowed. A worm may be said to *swim* on the ground, butchers to kill only the bad animals, etc.; but when hams are said to grow on trees or in the ground, or a hill is described as a *lump* of dirt, or wool as growing on hens, as often occurs, deficiency is obvious. So many other visual and other notions that seem to adults so

simple that they must be present to the mind with some completeness or not at all, are in a process of gradual acquisition element by element in the mind of a child, so that there must sometimes be confessedly a certain degree of arbitrariness in saying, as, except in cases of peculiar uncertainty, the questioners attempted to do, that the child has the concept or does not have it. Men's first names seem to have designated single striking qualities, but once applied they become general or specific names according to circumstances. Again, very few children knew that a tree had bark, leaves, trunk, and roots; but very few indeed had not noticed a tree enough for our "pass." Without specifying further details it may suffice here to say that the child was given the benefit of every doubt and credited with knowledge wherever its ignorance was not so radical as to make a chaos of what instruction and most primary text-books are wont to assume. It is important also to add that the questioners were requested to report manifest gaps in the child's knowledge *in its own words*, reproducing its syntax, pronunciation, etc.

About sixty teachers besides the above four have made returns from three or more children each. Many returns, however, are incomplete, careless, or show internal contradictions, and can be used only indirectly to control results from the other sources. From more than twice that number two hundred of the Boston children were selected as the basis of the following table. For certain questions and for many statistical purposes this number is much too small to yield very valuable results, but where, as in the majority of cases, the averages of these children taken by fifties have varied less than ten per cent it is safe to infer that the figures have considerable representative worth and far more than they could have if the percentages were small. The precautions that were taken to avoid schools where the children come from homes representing extremes of either culture or ignorance, or to balance deviations from a conjectured average in one direction by like deviations in the other, and also to select from each school-room with the teacher's aid only children of average capacity and to dismiss each child found unresponsive or not acquainted with the English language, give to the percentages, it is believed, a worth which without these and other precautions to this end only far larger numbers could yield.



The following table shows the general results for a number of those questions which admit of categorical answers, only negative results being recorded; the italicized questions in the "miscellaneous" class being based on only from forty to seventy-five children, the rest on two hundred, or in a few cases two hundred and fifty:

TABLE I.

No.	Name of the Object or Concept.	Per cent of Children ignorant of it.	No.	Name of the Object or Concept.	Per cent of Children ignorant of it.
1	Beehive.....	80	4	Seen rainbow.....	65
2	Crow.....	77	5	" " sunrise.....	56.5
3	Bluebird.....	72.5	6	" " sunset.....	53.5
4	Ant.....	65.5	7	" " clouds.....	35
5	Squirrel.....	63	8	" " stars.....	14
6	Snail.....	62	9	" " moon.....	7
7	Robin.....	60.5			
8	Sparrow.....	57.5			
9	Sheep.....	54			
10	Bee.....	52	1	Concept of an island.....	87.5
11	Frog.....	50	2	" " a beach.....	65.5
12	Pig.....	47.5	3	" " woods.....	53.5
13	Chicken.....	33.5	4	" " river.....	43
14	Worm.....	22	5	" " pond.....	40
15	Butterfly.....	20.5	6	" " hill.....	28
16	Hen.....	19	7	" " brook.....	15
17	Cow.....	18.5			
1	Growing wheat.....	92.5	1	Concept of a triangle.....	92
2	Elm tree.....	91.5	2	" " square.....	56
3	Poplar tree.....	89	3	" " circle.....	35
4	Willow.....	89	4	The number five.....	28.5
5	Growing oaks.....	87.5	5	" " four.....	17
6	Oak tree.....	87	6	" " three.....	8
7	Pine.....	87			
8	Maple.....	83			
9	Growing moss.....	81.5	1	Seen watchmaker at work.....	58
10	" " strawberries.....	78.5	2	" " file.....	66
11	" " clover.....	74	3	" " plough.....	64.5
12	" " beans.....	71.5	4	" " spade.....	62
13	" " blueberries.....	67.5	5	" " hoe.....	61
14	" " blackberries.....	66	6	" " bricklayer at work.....	44.5
15	" " corn.....	55.5	7	" " shoemaker at work.....	25
16	Chestnut tree.....	64	8	" " axe.....	12
17	Planted a seed.....	63			
18	Peaches on a tree.....	61			
19	Growing potatoes.....	61			
20	" " buttercup.....	55.5	1	Know green by name.....	15
21	" " rose.....	54	2	" " blue by name.....	14
22	" " grapes.....	53	3	" " yellow by name.....	13.5
23	" " dandelion.....	52	4	" " red by name.....	9
24	" " cherries.....	46			
25	" " pears.....	32			
26	" " apples.....	21			
				MISCELLANEOUS.	
1	Where are the child's ribs.....	90.5	1	That leathern things come from animals.....	93.4
2	" " " lungs.....	81	2	Maxim or proverb.....	91.5
3	" " " heart.....	80	3	Origin of cotton things.....	90
4	" " " wrists.....	70.5	4	What flour is made of.....	89
5	Where are the ankles.....	65.5	5	Ability to knit.....	88
6	" " " waist.....	52.5	6	What bricks are made of.....	81.1
7	" " " hips.....	45	7	Shape of the world.....	70.3
8	" " " knuckles.....	36	8	Origin of woollen things.....	69
9	" " " elbows.....	25	9	Never attended kindergarten.....	67.5
10	Know right and left hand.....	21.5	10	Never been in bathing.....	64.5
11	" " cheek.....	18	11	Can tell no rudiment of a story.....	58
12	" " forehead.....	15	12	Not know wooden things are from trees.....	55
13	" " throat.....	13.5	13	Origin of butter.....	50.5
14	" " knee.....	7	14	" " Meat (from animals).....	48
15	" " stomach.....	6	15	Cannot sew.....	47.5
			16	Cannot strike a given musical tone.....	40
			17	Cannot beat time regularly.....	39
			18	Have never saved cents at home.....	36
1	Dew.....	78	19	Never been in the country.....	35.5
2	What season it is.....	75.5	20	Can repeat no verse.....	28
3	Seen hail.....	73	21	Source of milk.....	20.5

TABLE II.

NAME OF THE OBJECT OR CONCEPT.	Per cent of ignorance in 150 girls.	Per cent of ignorance in 150 boys.	Per cent of ignorance in 50 Irish children.	Per cent of ignorance in 50 American children.	Per cent of ignorance in 64 kind- ergarten children.
Beehive.....	81	75	86	70	61
Ant.....	59	60	74	38	26
Squirrel.....	69	50	66	42	43
Snail.....	69	73	92	72	62
Robin.....	69	44	64	36	29
Sheep.....	67	47	62	40	40
Bee.....	46	32	52	32	26
Frog.....	53	38	54	35	35
Pig.....	45	27	38	26	22
Chicken.....	35	21	32	16	22
Worm.....	21	17	26	16	9
Butterfly.....	14	16	26	8	9
Hen.....	15	14	18	2	14
Cow.....	18	12	20	6	10
Growing clover.....	59	68	84	42	29
"    corn.....	58	50	60	68	32
"    potatoes.....	55	54	62	44	34
"    buttercup.....	50	51	66	40	31
"    rose.....	48	48	60	42	33
"    dandelion.....	44	42	62	34	31
"    apples.....	16	16	18	12	5
Ribs.....	88	92	98	82	68
Ankles.....	58	52	62	40	38
Waist.....	53	52	64	32	36
Hips.....	50	47	72	31	24
Knuckles.....	27	27	34	12	23
Elbow.....	19	32	36	16	12
Right from left hand.....	20	8	14	20	4
Wrist.....	21	34	44	9	19
Cheek.....	10	12	14	14	4
Forehead.....	10	11	12	10	7
Throat.....	10	18	14	16	14
Knee.....	4	5	2	10	2
Dew.....	64	63	92	52	57
What season it is.....	59	50	68	48	41
Hail.....	75	61	84	52	53
Rainbow.....	59	61	70	38	38
Sunrise.....	71	53	70	36	53
Sunset.....	47	49	52	32	29
Stars.....	15	10	12	4	7
Island.....	74	78	84	64	55
Beach.....	82	49	60	34	32
Woods.....	46	36	46	32	27
River.....	38	44	62	12	13
Pond.....	31	34	42	24	28
Hill.....	23	22	30	12	19
The number five.....	26	16	22	24	12
"    four.....	15	10	16	14	7
"    three.....	7	6	12	8	0

The high rate of ignorance here indicated may surprise most who will be likely to read this report, because the childhood they

know will be much above the average of intelligence here sought, as it may all, because the few memories of childhood which survive in adult life necessarily bear such slight traces of its imperfections and are from many causes so illusory. Skeins and spools of thread were said to grow on the sheep's back or on bushes, stockings on trees, butter to come from buttercups, flour to be made of beans, oats to grow on oaks, bread to be swelled yeast, trees to be stuck in the ground by God and rootless, meat to be dug from the ground, and potatoes to be picked from trees. Cheese is squeezed butter, the cow says "bow-wow," the pig purrs or burrows, worms are not distinguished from snakes, moss from the "toad's umbrella," bricks from stones, nor beans from trees. An oak may be known only as an acorn-tree or a button-tree, a pine only as a needle-tree, a bird's nest only as its bed, etc. So that while no one child has all these misconceptions none are free from them, and thus the liabilities are great that, in this chaos of half-assimilated impressions, half right, half wrong, some lost link may make utter nonsense or mere verbal cram of the most careful instruction, as in the cases of children referred to above who knew much by rote about a cow, its milk, horns, leather, meat, etc., but yet were sure from the picture-book that it was no bigger than a small mouse.

For 86 per cent of the above questions the average intelligence of thirty-six country children who were tested ranks higher than that of the city children of the table, and in many items very greatly. The subject-matter of primers for the latter is in great part still traditionally of country life; hence the danger of unwarranted presupposition is considerable. As our methods of teaching grow natural we realize that city life is unnatural, and that those who grow up without knowing the country are defrauded of that without which childhood can never be complete or normal. On the whole the material of the city is no doubt inferior in pedagogic value to country experience. A few days in the country at this age has raised the level of many a city child's intelligence more than a term or two of school training could do without it. It is there, too, that the foundations of a love of natural science are best laid. We cannot accept without many careful qualifications the evolutionary dictum that the child's

mental development should repeat that of the race. Unlike primitive man the child's body is feeble and he is ever influenced by a higher culture about him. Yet from the primeval intimacy with the qualities and habits of plants, with the instincts of animals—so like those of children—with which hawking and trapping, the riding on instead of some distance behind horses, etc., made men familiar; from primitive industries and tools as first freshly suggested, if we believe Geiger, from the normal activities of the human organism, especially the tool of tools, the hand; from primitive shelter, cooking, and clothing, with which anthropological researches make us familiar, it is certain that not a few educational elements of great value can be selected and systematized for children, an increasing number of them in fact being already in use for juvenile games and recreations and for the vacation pastimes of adults. A country barn, a forest with its gloom and awe, its vague fears and indefinite sounds, is a great school at this age. The making of butter, which some teachers, after hearing so often that it grew inside eggs or on ice, or was made from buttermilk, think it worth while to make a thimbleful of it in a toy churn at school as an object-lesson; more acquaintance with birds, which, as having the most perfect senses, most constant motion in several elements, even Leopardi could panegyryze as the only real things of joy in the universe, and which the strange power of flight makes ideal beings with children, and whose nests were often said to *grow* on trees; more knowledge of kitchen-chemistry, of foods, their preparation and origin; wide prospects for the eyes—this is more pedagogic industrial training for *young* children, because more free and play-like, than sewing, or cooking, or whittling, or special trade-schools can be, as well as mere hygienic. Many children locate all that is good and imperfectly known in the country, and nearly a dozen volunteered the statement that good people when they die go to the country—even here from Boston. It is things that live and, as it were, detach themselves from their background by moving that catch the eye and with it the attention, and the subjects which occupy and interest the city child are mainly in motion and therefore transient, while the country child comes to know objects at rest better. The country child has more solitude, and is likely to develop more independence and is less likely to be

prematurely caught up into the absorbing activities and throbbing passions of manhood, and becomes more familiar with the experiences of primitive man. The city child knows a little of many more things and so is more liable to superficiality and has a wider field for error. At the same time it has two great advantages over the country child, in knowing more of human nature and in entering school with a much better developed sense of rhythm and all its important implications. On the whole, however, additional force seems thus given to the argument for excursions, by rail or otherwise, regularly provided for the poorer children who are causing the race to degenerate in the great centres of population, unfavorable enough for those with good homes or even for adults.

Words, in connection with rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, cadence, etc., or even without these simply as sound-pictures, often absorb the attention of children and yield them a really æsthetic pleasure either quite independently of their meaning or to the utter bewilderment of it. They hear fancied words in noises and sounds of nature and animals, and are persistent punners. As butterflies make butter or eat it or give it by squeezing, so grasshoppers give grass, bees give beads and beans, kittens grow on the pussy-willow, and all honey is from honeysuckles, and even a poplin dress is made of poplar-trees. When the cow lows it somehow blows its own horn; crows and scarecrows are confounded; ant has some subtle relationship to aunt; angle-worm suggests angle or triangle or ankle; Martie eats "tomarties;" a holiday is a day to "holler" on; Harry O'Neil is nicknamed Harry Oatmeal; isosceles is somehow related to sausages; October suggests knocked over; "I never saw a hawk, but I can hawk and spit too;" "I will not sing do re mi, but do re *you*," "Miss Eaton will eat us"—these and many more from the questioners' notes, and the story of the child who, puzzled by the unfamiliar reflexive use of the verb, came to associate "now I lay me," etc., with a *lama*, or of another who was for years stultified as against a dead blank wall whenever the phrase "answer sought" occurred, suggest to us how, more or less consciously and more or less seriously, a child may be led, in the absence of corrective experience, to the most fantastic and otherwise unaccountable distortions of facts by shadowy word-spectres or



husks. In many of the expressions quoted the child seems playing with relations once seriously held, and its "fun" to be joy over but lately broken mental fetters. Some at least of the not infrequently quite unintelligible statements or answers may perhaps be thus accounted for. Again, the child more than the adult thinks in pictures, gestures, and inarticulate sounds. The distinction between real and verbal knowledge has been carefully and constantly kept in mind by the questioners. Yet except a very few objects in the above table, as e.g. triangle and sparrow, a child may be said to know almost nothing of them, at least for school purposes, if he has no generally recognized name for them. The far greater danger is the converse, that only the name and not the thing itself will be known. To test for this was, with the exceptions presently to be noted, our constant aim, as it is that of true education to obviate it. The danger, however, is after all quite limited here, for the linguistic imperfections of children are far more often shown in combining words than in naming the concrete things they know or do not know. To name an object is a passion with them, for it is to put their own mark upon it, to appropriate it. From the talk which most children hear and use to book language is again an immense step. Words *live* only in the ear and mouth, and are pale and corpse-like when addressed to the eye. What we want, and indeed are likely soon to have, are carefully arranged child vocabularies and dictionaries of both verbal forms and meanings, to show teachers just the phonic elements and vocal combinations children have most trouble with, the words they most readily and surely acquire, their number and order in each thought-sphere—and the attributes and connotations most liable to confuse them. To that work it is believed the method here employed has already furnished valuable material in protocol soon to be augmented and digested.

To specify a few items more fully, the four color-questions were designed to test not color-blindness but the power to use color-names. The Holmgren worsteds were used, from which the child was asked to pick out, not colors like others to which its attention is directed without naming them, but the color named, to which he has no clue but the name. It did not seem safe to complicate the objects of the latter educational test with the

former, so that some of those marked defective in the table may or may not have been color-blind. Excluding colored and Jewish children, both of whom seem to show exceptional percentages, and averaging the sexes, both Magnus and Jeffries found a little over two per cent of many thousand children color-blind. The children they tested, however, were much older than these, and two or three hundred is far too small a number to warrant us, were it otherwise allowable, in simply subtracting two per cent and inferring that the remainder were deficient only in knowledge of the color-word. Our figures, then, do not bear upon the question whether the color-sense itself is fully developed before the age of five or six or not. Again, number cannot be developed to any practical extent without knowledge of the number-name. Beyond three, as Wundt's careful experiments show, the eye can apprehend but three of the smallest and simplest objects, unless they are arranged in some geometrical order, without taking considerable additional time to count. As the chromatic scale grades musical intervals or the names we count by graduate the vague sense of more or less, and, later, as visible notes change all musical ideas and possibilities, so figures or number-signs almost create arithmetic. A child who seriously says a cat has three or five legs will pick out its own, e.g. fourth, seat in the fifth row in an empty school-room almost every time by happy guessing, and hold up "so many" fingers or blocks, when, if the number-name five or six were called for and nothing shown, it would be quite confused. In our tests the number-name was sought because it is that which is mainly serviceable for educational purposes. As to the physiological and geographical questions little need be said. Joint, flesh, and vein are often unknown terms, or joint is where the bone is broken, and there are stones in the knees. Within the skin is blood and something hard, perhaps wood. Physical self-consciousness, which is in little danger of becoming morbid at this age, begins with recognition of the hand, then of the foot, because these are the most mobile parts, but has not often reached the face at this age, and blushing is rare; while psychic self-consciousness is commonly only of pain, either internal, as of stomach-ache, or peripheral, of cuts, bruises, etc. The world is square, straight, or flat, and if the other side has been thought of it is all woods

or water or ice, or where saved people or Protestants or anything much heard of but little seen are; if we go to the edge of the world we come to water or may fall off, or it may be like a house and we live on the top. The first notion of a hill may be of some particular pile of sand, perhaps on the moulding-board, three inches high, or a rubbish-heap in the back yard, or a slant where a sled will run alone; but a comprehensive idea of hill with opposite sides, tho simpler and easier than most geographical categories, is by no means to be assumed.

If children are pressed to answer questions somewhat beyond their ken they often reply confusedly and at random, while if others beside them are questioned they can answer well; some are bolder and invent things on the spot if they seem to interest the questioner, while others catch quick and subtle suggestions from the form of the question, accent, gesture, feature, etc., so that what seems originality is really mind-reading, giving back our every thought and sometimes only a direct reproduction, with but little distortion because little apprehension, of what parents or teachers have lately told them. But there are certain elements which every tactful and experienced friend of children learns to distinguish from each of these with considerable accuracy—elements which, from whatever source, take or spring from deep roots in the childish heart, as distinct from all these as are Grimm's tales from those of some of our weakly juvenile weeklies. These are generally not easily accessible. I could not persuade an old nurse to repeat to me a nonsensical song I had half overheard that delighted a two-year-old child, and the brothers Grimm experienced a similar difficulty in making their collections. As many workmen nail a horseshoe over their door for luck and many people really prefer to begin nothing important on Friday who will not confess to a trace of superstition in either case, so children cling to their "old credulities to nature dear," refusing every attempt to gain their full confidence or explore secret tracts in their minds, as a well-developed system of insane illusions may escape the scrutiny of the most skilful alienist. As a reasoning electric light might honestly doubt the existence of such things as shadows because, however near or numerous, they are always hidden from it, so the most intelligent adults quite commonly fail to recognize sides of



their own children's souls which can be seen only by strategy. A boy and girl often play under my window as I write, and when either is quite alone unconscious words often reveal what is passing in their own minds, and it is often very absurd or else meaningless, but they run away with shame and even blushes if they chance to look up suddenly and catch me listening. Yet who of us has not secret regions of soul to which no friend is ever admitted, and which we ourselves shrink from full consciousness of? Many children half believe the doll feels cold or blows, that it pains flowers to tear or burn them, or that in summer when the tree is alive it makes it ache to pound or chop it. Of 48 children questioned 20 believed sun, moon, or stars to live, 15 thought a doll and 16 thought flowers would suffer pain if burned. Children who are accounted dull in school-work are more apt to be imaginative and animistic.

The chief field for such fond and often secret childish fancies is the sky. About three fourths of all questioned thought the world a plain, and many described it as round like a dollar, while the sky is like a flattened bowl turned over it. The sky is often thin, one might easily break through; half the moon may be seen through it, while the other half is this side; it may be made of snow, but is so large that there is much floor-sweeping to be done in heaven. Some thought the sun went down at night into the ground or just behind certain houses, and went across on or under the ground to go up out of or off the water in the morning, but 48 per cent of all thought that at night it *goes* or *rolls* or *flies*, is *blown* or *walks*, or *God pulls it up* higher out of sight. He *takes it into heaven*, and perhaps *puts it to bed*, and even *takes off its clothes* and puts them on in the morning, or again it *lies under the trees* where the angels *mind it*, or goes through and *shines on the upper side of the sky*, or goes *into* or *behind the moon*, as the moon is behind it in the day. It may *stay where it is*, only we *cannot see it, for it is dark*, or the *dark rains down so*, and it *comes out when it gets light so it can see*. More than half the children questioned conceived the sun as never more than 40 degrees from the zenith, and, naturally enough, city children knew little of the horizon. So the moon (still italicizing where the exact words of the children are given) *comes around when it is a bright night* and people *want to walk, or forget to light*

*some lamps ; it follows us about and has nose and eyes, while it calls the stars into, under, or behind it at night, and they may be made of bits of it. Sometimes the moon is round a month or two, then it is a rim, or a piece is cut off, or it is half stuck or half buttoned into the sky. The stars may be sparks from fire-engines or houses, or, with higher intelligence, they are silver, or God lights them with matches and blows them out or opens the door and calls them in in the morning. Only in a single case were any of the heavenly bodies conceived as openings in the sky to let light or glory through, or as eyes of supernatural beings—a fancy so often ascribed to children and so often found in juvenile literature. Thunder, which, anthropologists tell us, is or represents the highest God to most savage races, was apperceived as God groaning or kicking, or rolling barrels about, or turning a big handle, or grinding snow, walking loud, breaking something, throwing logs, having coal run in, pounding about with a big hammer, rattling houses, hitting the clouds, or clouds bumping or clapping together or bursting, or else it was merely ice sliding off lots of houses, or cannon in the city or sky, hard rain down the chimney, or big rocks pounding, or piles of boards falling down, or very hard rain, hail, or wind. Lightning is God putting out his finger or opening a door, or turning a gas quick, or (very common) striking many matches at once, throwing stones and iron for sparks, setting paper afire, or it is light going outside and inside the sky, or stars falling. God keeps rain in heaven in a big sink, rows of buckets, a big tub or barrels, and they run over or he lets it down with a water-hose through a sieve, a dipper with holes, or sprinkles or tips it down or turns a faucet. God makes it in heaven out of nothing or out of water, or it gets up by splashing up, or he dips it up off the roof, or it rains up off the ground when we don't see it. The clouds are close to the sky ; they move because the earth moves and makes them. They are dirty, muddy things, or blankets, or doors of heaven, and are made of fog, of steam that makes the sun go, of smoke, of white wool or feathers and birds, or lace or cloth. In their changing forms very many children, whose very life is fancy, think they see veritable men, or more commonly, because they have so many more forms, animals, faces, and very often God, Santa Claus, angels, etc., are also seen. Closely connected with the above are the religious concepts so common with chil-*

dren. God is a *big*, perhaps *blue*, *man*, very often seen in the sky on or in clouds, in the church, or even street. He *came in our gate*, *comes to see us sometimes*. He lives in a *big palace* or a *big brick* or *stone house on the sky*. He makes lamps, babies, dogs, trees, money, etc., and the angels *work for him*. He looks like the priest, Fröbel, papa, etc., and they like to look at him, and a few would like to be God. He *lights the stars so he can see to go on the sidewalk* or *into the church*. Birds, children, Santa Claus, live with him, and most but not all like him better than they do the latter. When people die they just *go*, or are *put in a hole*, or a box or a *black wagon that goes to heaven*, or they *fly up* or are *drawn* or *slung up* into the sky where God *catches* them. They *never can get out of the hole*, and yet all good people somehow get where God is. He *lifts* them up, they *go up on a ladder* or *rope*, or they carry them up, but *keep their eyes shut so they do not know the way*, or they are *shoved up through a hole*. When children get there they have candy, rocking-horses, guns, and everything in the toy-shop or picture-book, play marbles, top, ball, cards, hookey, hear brass bands, have nice clothes, gold watches, and pets, ice-cream and soda-water, and no school. There are men there who died in the war made into angels, and dolls with broken heads go there. Some think they must go through the church to get there, a few thought the horse-cars run there, and one said that the birds that grow on apple-trees are drawn up there by the moon. The bad place is like an *oven* or a *police-station*, where it burns, yet is all dark, and folks want to get back, and God *kills* people or *beats them with a cane*. God makes babies in heaven, tho the holy mother and even Santa Claus makes some. He *lets them down* or *drops them*, and the women or doctors *catch* them, or he leaves them on the sidewalk, or *brings them down a wooden ladder backwards and pulls it up again*, or mamma or the doctor or the nurse *go up and fetch them* sometimes in a balloon, or they *fly down and lose off their wings in some place or other and forget it*, or *jump down to Jesus*, who *gives them around*. They were also often said to be found in flour-barrels, and the *flour sticks ever so long*, you know, or they *grow in cabbages*, or God *puts them in water*, perhaps in the sewer, and the doctor gets them out and *takes them to sick folks that want them*, or the milkman brings them early in the morn-

ing, they are dug out of the ground, or bought at the baby-store. Sometimes God *puts on a few things* or else *sends them along if he don't forget it*; this shows that no one since Basedow believes in telling children the truth in all things.

Not a few children have or can be made to disclose no such ideas as the above, and indeed they seem to be generally already on the ebb at this age, and are sometimes timidly introduced by, *as if, some say, it is like, or I used to think*. Clear and confident notions on the above topics are the exception and not the rule, yet most have some of them, while some are common to many, indeed most, children. They represent a drift of consentient infantile philosophy about the universe not without systematic coherence, altho intimidated and broken through at every point by fragmentary truths, often only verbal indeed, without insight or realization of a higher order, so that the most diametrical contradictions often subsist peacefully side by side, and yet they are ever forming again at lower levels of age and intelligence. In all that is remote the real and ideal fade into each other like clouds and mountains in the horizon, or as poetry which keeps alive the standpoints of an earlier culture coexists with science. Children are often hardly conscious of them at all, and the very questions that bring them to mind and invite them to words at the same time often abash the child to the first disquieting self-consciousness of the absurdity of his fond fancies that have felt not only life but character into natural objects. Between the products of childish spontaneity, where the unmistakable child's mark is seen, and those of really *happy* suggestion by parents, etc., the distinction is as hard as anywhere along the line between heredity and tradition. It is enough that these fancies are like Galton's composite portraits, resultants in form and shading of the manifold deepest impression which what is within and what is without have together made upon the child's soul in these spheres of ideas. Those indicated above represent many strata of intelligence up through which the mind is passing very rapidly and with quite radical transformations. Each stratum was once with but a little elaboration, or is now somewhere, the highest culture, relegated to and arrested in an earlier and earlier stage as civilization and educational methods advance. Belief in the false is as necessary as it is



inevitable, for the proper balance of head and heart, and happy the child who has believed or loved only healthy, unaffected, platonic lies like the above, which will be shed with its milk-teeth when more solid mental pabulum can be digested. It is possible that the present shall be so attractive and pre-occupying that the child never once sends his thoughts to the remote in time and place, and that these baby-fancies—ever ready to form at a touch, and which make the impartation of truth, however carefully put, on these themes impossible before its time; which, when long forgotten, yet often reverberate, if their old chords be struck, in adults to the intensity of fanaticism or even delusion—shall be quite repressed. If so, one of the best elements of education which comes from long experience in laying aside a lower for a higher phase of culture by doubting opportunely, judiciously, and temperately, is lost.

De Quincey's pseudopia is thought by Dr. E. H. Clarke (*Visions*, p. 212) to be common with children; but altho about 40 were asked to describe what they saw with their eyes shut, it is impossible to judge whether they visualize in any such distinctive sense as Mr. Galton has described or only imagine and remember, often with Homeric circumstance, but with less than picturesque vividness. Childish thought is very largely in visual terms, hence the need of object (*anschauungs*) lessons, and hence, too, it comes that most of the above questions address the eye without any such intent. If phonic symbols could be made pictorial as they were originally, and as illustrated primers make them in a third and still remoter sense, the irrational elements in learning to read would be largely obviated. Again, out of 53 children 21 described the tones of certain instruments as colored.<sup>1</sup> The colors, or "photisms," thus suggested, tho so far as tested constant from week to week in the same child, had no agreement for different instruments, a drum, e.g., suggesting yellow (the favorite color of children) to one child and black or red to another, and the tone of a fife being described as pale or bright, light or dark colored, intensity and saturation varying greatly with different children. For this and other forms of as-

<sup>1</sup> In the sense of Bleuler and Lehrmann. See their treatise "*Zwangsmässige Lichtempfindung durch Schall*," Leipzig, 1881. Also, Lazarus' "*Leben der Seele*," ii. p. 131.

sociation or analogies of sensation of a large and not yet explored class so common in children, many data for future study were gathered. This was also the case with their powers of time and tone reproduction, and their common errors in articulation, which have suggested other and more detailed researches, some of which are already in progress.

Each child was asked to name three things right and three things wrong to do, and nearly half could do so. In no case were the two confused, indicating not necessarily intuitive perception, but a general consensus in what is allowed and forbidden children at home, and how much better and more surely they learn to do than to know. Wrong things were specified much more readily and by more children than right things, and also in much greater variety. In about 450 answers 53 wrongs acts are specified, while in over 350 answers only 34 different good acts are named. The more frequent answers are to mind and be good, or to disobey, be naughty, lie, and say bad words; but the answers of the girls differ from the boys in two marked ways, they more often name specific acts and nearly twice as often conventional ones, the former difference being most common in naming right, the latter in naming wrong things. Boys say it is wrong to steal, fight, kick, break windows, get drunk, stick pins into others, or to "sass," "cuss," shoot them, while girls are more apt to say it is wrong to not comb the hair, to get butter on the dress, climb trees, unfold the hands, cry, catch flies, etc. The right things seem, it must be confessed, comparatively very tame and unattractive, and while the genius of an Aristotle could hardly extract categories or infer intuitions by classification from either list, it is very manifest that the lower strata of conscience are dislike of dirt and fear. Pure intuitionists may like to know that over a dozen children were found who convinced their questioners that they thought they ought not to say bad words if no one heard them, or lie if not found out, etc., or who felt sick at the stomach when they had been bad, but the soap and water or sand with which their mouths are sometimes washed after bad words in kindergartens, or the red pepper administered at home after lies, may possibly have something to do with the latter phenomenon.

From several hundred drawings, with the name given them

by the child written by the teacher, the chief difference inferred is in concentration. Some make faint, hasty lines representing all the furniture of a room, or sky and stars, or all the objects they can think of, while others concentrate upon a single object. It is a girl *with buttons*, a house *with a keyhole* or steps, a man *with a pipe* or heels or ring grotesquely prominent. The development of observation and sense of form is best seen in the pictures of men. The earliest and simplest representation is a round head, two eyes and legs. Later comes mouth, then nose, then hair, then ears. Arms like legs at first grow directly from the head, rarely from the legs, and are seldom fingerless, tho sometimes it is doubtful whether several arms or fingers from head and legs without arms are meant. Of 44 human heads only 9 are in profile. This is one of the many analogies with the rock and cave drawings of primitive man, and suggests how Catlin came to nearly lose his life by "leaving out the other half" in drawing a profile portrait of an Indian chief. Last, as least mobile and thus attracting least attention, comes the body; first, round like the head, then elongated, sometimes prodigiously, and sometimes articulated into several compartments, and in three cases divided, the upper part of the figure being in one place and the lower in another. The mind and not the eye alone is addressed, for the body is drawn and then the clothes are drawn on it (as the child dresses), diaphanous and only in outline. Most draw living objects except the kindergarten children, who draw their patterns. More than two thirds of all objects are decidedly in action, and under 18 per cent word-pictures or scribbles called the *name* of the objects are made to imitate writing or letters, as children who cannot talk often make gibbering, sputtering sounds to imitate talking. The very earliest pençillings, commonly of three-year-old children, are mere marks to and fro, often nearly in the same line. Of 13 of these most were *nearly* in the angle described by Javal as corresponding to the earliest combination of finger and fore-arm movements and not far from the regulation slant of  $32^{\circ}$  taught in school penmanship.

Each child was asked to tell a verse or story to be recorded verbatim, and nearly half could do so. Children of this age are no longer interested in mere animal noises or rhymes or nonsense-words of the "Mother Goose" order, but everything to interest

them deeply must have a cat, dog, bird, baby, another child, or possibly parent or teacher in it, must be dramatic and full of action, appeal to the eye as a "chalk-talk" or an object-lesson, and be copious of details, which need be varied but slightly to make the story as good as new for the twentieth time. A long gradation of abstractions culminates here. First, it is a great lesson for the child to eliminate touch and recognize objects by the eye alone. The first pictures are felt of, turned over with much confusion to find the surface smooth. To abstract from visual terms to words is still harder. Eyes and tongue must work together a long time before the former can be eliminated and stories told of objects first absent, then remote, then before unknown. Children must be far beyond this before they can be interested in e.g., fairy tales, and stories told interest them far more than if read to them no matter how apt the language. They are reproduced about as imperfectly as objects are drawn, only a few salient and disconnected points being seized at first, and sentence and sequence coming very slowly after many repetitions. Their own little faults may be woven in or ascribed to animals or even plants in a remote way which they themselves will feel at each stage, and the selfish birdie or the runaway squirrel or flowers as kind words may be referred to in case of need as a reserve moral capital. Why do we never teach maxims and proverbs which, when carefully selected, are found so effective at this age and teach the best morality embodied in the briefest and most impressive way?

Of the 36 per cent or 72 children of the table who never saved their pennies, 52 spend them for candy, which growing children need, but the adulterations of which are often noxious. Of toys, big things please them best. A recent writer in Austria fears that school savings-banks tend to call attention too early to money matters, and to cause its value to be dangerously overrated; but to pass the candy by and drop the cents where they are beyond their control for years is much less pedagogic than to save them till a larger and more costly toy can be bought.

There are but 11 questions on which any comparison between the intelligence of the Boston and Berlin children can be made. On all of these except elementary number, where the average is nearly 20 per cent in favor of the Boston children, the figures vary surprisingly little despite local differences and another mode of questioning.



Table I. is based upon about equal numbers of boys and girls, and children of Irish and American parentage greatly predominate; there are 21 Germans, and 19 are divided between eight other nationalities. 14 per cent of all examined did not know their age; 6 per cent were four, 37 per cent were five, 25 per cent were six, 12 per cent were 7, and 2 per cent were eight years old. The returns were carefully tabulated to determine the influence of age, which seems surprisingly unpronounced, indicating, so far as the small numbers go, a slight value of age *per se* as an index of ripeness for school.

In Table II., columns 2 and 3 are based upon larger numbers and upon less carefully restricted selections from the aggregate returns. In 34 representative questions out of 49 the boys surpass the girls, as the German boys did in 75 per cent of the quite different Berlin questions. The girls excel in knowledge of the parts of the body, home and family life, thunder, rainbows, in knowledge of square, circle, and triangle, but not in that of cube, sphere, and pyramid, which is harder and later. Their stories are more imaginative, while their knowledge of things outward and remote, their power to sing and articulate correctly from dictation, their acquaintance with number and animals, is distinctly less than that of the boys. The Berlin report indicates that girls knew the four best of Grimm's tales nearly twice as frequently as the boys, but that in the concepts of God, Christ, and Bible stories the relation was exactly reversed, and proceeds to infer that the more common, near, or easy a notion is the more likely are the girls to excel the boys, and *vice versa*. Save possibly in the knowledge of the parts of the body, our returns do not particularly indicate this. Boys do seem, however, more likely than girls to be ignorant of common things right about them, where knowledge is wont to be assumed. Column 5 shows that the Irish children tested were behind others on nearly all topics. The Irish girls decidedly outrank the Irish boys, the advantage to the sex being outweighed by the wider knowledge of the boys of other nationalities. Whether, however, the five and six-year-old Irish boys are not after all so constituted as to surpass their precocious American playmates later in school or adult life, as since Sigismund many think "slow" children generally do, is one of the most serious questions for the philosophical educa-

tor. Column 6 shows the advantage of the kindergarten children, without regard to nationality, over all others in a striking way. Most of the latter tested were from the charity kindergartens, so that superior intelligence of home surroundings can hardly be assumed. Many of them had attended kindergarten but a short time, and the questions were so ordered that the questioners who had a special interest in the kindergarten should not know till near the end of their tests whether or not they had ever attended it. On the other hand, a somewhat larger proportion of the children from the kindergarten had been in the country. Yet on the whole we seem to have here an illustration of the law that we really see not what is near or impresses the retina, but what the attraction is called and held to, and what interests are awakened and words found for. Of nearly thirty primary teachers questioned as to the difference between children from kindergartens and others, four saw no difference, and all the rest thought them better fitted for school-work, instancing superior use of language, skill with the hand and slate, quickness, power of observation, singing, number, love of work, neatness, politeness, freedom from the benumbing school-bashfulness, or power to draw from dictation. Many thought them at first more restless and talkative generally—a trifling and transient fault.

There are many other details and more or less probable inferences, but the above are the chief. The work is laborious, involving about fifty thousand items in all; and as but few of the Berlin methods or results except statistical tables have been published, these results are it is believed to be in some degree the first opening of a new field, which should be specialized and single concept-groups subjected to more detailed study with larger numbers of children. It should also be applied to older children and youth, as the writer is already attempting to do. The difficulty is to get essential points to test for. If these are not characteristic and typical, all such work is worthless. We believe that not only practical educational conclusions of great scope and importance may be based on or illustrated by such results, but, tho deeply sensible of many sources of inaccuracy which may limit their value, that they are of great importance for anthropology and psychology. It is characteristic of an educated man, says Aristotle in substance, not to require a degree of scientific ex-

actness on any subject more than that which the subject admits. As scientific methods advance not only are increasingly complex matters subjected to them, but probabilities (which guide nearly all our acts) more and more remote from mathematical certainty are valued.

Steinthal tells an apposite story of six German gentlemen riding socially in a coupé all day, and as they approached the station where they were to separate one proposed to tell the vocation of each of the others, who were strangers to him, if they would write without hesitation an answer to the question "What destroys its own offspring?" One wrote, Vital force. "You," said the questioner, "are a biologist." Another wrote, War. "You," he said, "are a soldier." Another wrote, Kronos, and was correctly pronounced a philologist; while the publicist revealed himself by writing Revolution, and the farmer by writing She-bear. This fable teaches the law of apperception. As Don Quixote saw an army in a flock of sheep and a giant in a windmill, as some see all things in the light of politics, others in that of religion, education, etc., so the Aryan races apperceived the clouds as cows and the rain as their milk, the sun as a horse, the lightning as an arrow, and so the children apperceive rain as God pouring down water; thunder as barrels, boards falling, or cannon; heaven as a well-appointed nursery, &c., &c. They bring more or less developed apperceiving organs with them into school, each older and more familiar concept gaining more apperceptive power over the newer concepts and percepts by use. The older impressions are on the lurch, as it were, for the new ones, and mental freedom and all-sidedness depends on the number and strength of these appropriating concepts. If there are very few, as with children, teaching is, as some one has well said, like pouring water from a big tub into a small narrow-necked bottle. A teacher who acts upon the now everywhere-admitted fallacy that knowledge of the subject is all that is needed in teaching children pours at random on to more than into the children, talking to rather than with them, and gauging what he gives rather than what they receive. All now agree that the mind can learn only what is related to other things learned before, and that we must start from the knowledge that the children really have and develop this as germs, otherwise we are showing objects that

require close scrutiny only to indirect vision, or talking to the blind of color. Alas for the teacher who does not learn more from his children than he can ever hope to teach them! Just in proportion as teachers do this do they cease to be merely mechanical and acquire interest, perhaps enthusiasm, and surely an all-compensating sense of growth in their work and life.

From the above tables it seems not too much also to infer—  
I. That there is next to nothing of pedagogic value the knowledge of which it is safe to assume at the outset of school-life. Hence the need of objects and the danger of books and word-cram. Hence many of the best primary teachers in Germany spend from two to four or even six months in talking of objects and drawing them before any beginning of what we till lately have regarded as primary-school work. II. The best preparation parents can give their children for good school-training is to make them acquainted with natural objects, especially with the sights and sounds of the country and talk about them, and send them to good and hygienic as distinct from most fashionable kindergartens. III. Every normal-school pupil should be required, as an essential part of his training, and every teacher on starting with a new class or in a new locality, to make sure that his efforts along some lines are not utterly lost, should undertake to explore carefully section by section children's minds with all the tact and ingenuity he can command and acquire, to determine exactly what is already known. IV. The concepts which are most common in the children of a given locality are the earliest to be acquired, while the rarer ones are later. This order may generally be assumed in teaching as a natural one, e.g. apples first and wheat last (Cf. Table I.). This order, however, varies very greatly with every change of environment, so that the results of exploration of children's minds in one place cannot be assumed to be valid for those of another save within comparatively few concept-spheres.

The writer is under special obligations, first to Mrs. Quincy Shaw, who founded and supports the comprehensive system of charity kindergartens in Boston, and also to Miss L. B. Pingree, their superintendent, and to the special questioners Miss S. E. Wiltse, Miss L. H. Symonds, Miss E. M. Parker, and Miss C. Scandlin.

G. STANLEY HALL.

## MODERN COMEDY.

TO assert that modern English comedy owes more to Molière than it does to Shakspeare is likely to give a shock of surprise to the general reader. The current accounts of the course of English dramatic literature have nowhere set forth this fact fully: the ordinary critic of the English drama either ignores it or is ignorant of it; yet it is a fact, and not a paradox.

The influence of Shakspeare on modern English comedy, on the comic plays acted in England during the past two centuries, is indisputable, of course, but it is less in quantity and less in quality than the influence of Molière. It would be an easy task to go through the list of the successful English comedies acted since the death of Shakspeare and to pick out the plays, like Tobin's "Honeymoon" and Knowles's "Hunchback," written consciously in the imitation—however remote—of the Shaksperian manner. It would not be easy to name half of the English comedies whose form and substance had been unconsciously moulded by the example of Molière. The explanation of the seeming paradox that the comic dramatists of England have been more beholden to the greatest dramatist of France than to the greatest dramatist of England is not far to seek. Indeed, it lies in a nutshell. Modern English comedy is not made on the model of Elizabethan comic drama, and it is made—immorality apart—on the model of the Restoration comic drama. Now the comic dramatists of the Restoration—immorality apart—were the children of Molière. Between the Elizabethan dramatists and the dramatists of the Restoration was a great gulf; they did not think alike; they did not feel alike; and the larger manner of the earlier writers was hopelessly impossible to the younger. (Dryden is an exception; and Dryden is in essen-



tials a betarded Elizabethan; at times he ventured to draw from the nude, and some of the naked wildness of mankind got into his work; but he stood alone and lonely among his contemporaries, who had no feeling for the nakedness of things and whose men and women were all clothed and in their right mind.) The vigorous outline and the bold stroke of the Elizabethans were not only impossible but even repugnant to the Restoration writers, corrupted as they had been by the pseudo-classic revival at the French court. They were no longer large-minded enough to take in the greater beauty of mighty Elizabethans. Yet they were men of understanding and taste, and they could appreciate to the full the delicacy and restraint and concentration of the new French comedy, which Molière had marked with his image and superscription. Unfortunately for themselves, when they borrowed the point of view of the great Frenchman they forgot to borrow his sobriety and his self-respect. They were wholly lacking in the skill which enabled him to treat with delicacy and without offence a risky subject—and there are few subjects more risky than that of the “*Amphitryon*,” for example. Where Molière glided gently and with skilful step, his imitators trod clumsily and crushingly; and it is small wonder that they soon found themselves in the mire. They had a keen wit and a lively humor and a fertile invention, aided when it flagged by reminiscences of France; but they had no moral taste, no decency; and their plays have decayed rapidly for want of what would keep them sweet. But as manners and morals improved, these plays of the Restoration writers began to be thrust from the stage into the closets of librarians, until there is not a single comic drama of that period holding the stage to-day. The playgoer of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century has no chance to see acted any comedy of Etherege, Dryden, Shadwell, Congreve, Farquhar, Wycherley, or Vanbrugh; and he could hardly sit through the performance if he had.

It is true also that no play of the Elizabethan period—save Shakspeare’s and a single piece by a single one of his contemporaries—keeps the stage. It may be that we should be as much shocked by the brutal violence of the minor Elizabethans as by the brutal indecency of the minor Restoration writers. The fact remains that the playgoer of to-day can never hope to see acted

any play of Marlowe, Ford, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster Heywood, Ben Jonson, Chapman, or Shirley, altho he may possibly by great good luck get a chance now and again to see Massinger's "New Way to Pay Old Debts." These plays have died hard. There is still alive an American actress who likes to act the "Duchess of Malfy," a tissue of freezing horrors. There were three or four other of the plays originally acted under "Eliza and our James," which Macready tried vainly to warm over when he was at the head of one of the two great theatres of London. There were barely a dozen of them which survived to the end of the last century, and which have therefore got themselves embalmed in Mrs. Inchbald's "British Theatre" and the kindred collections. Among the plays still acted at the beginning of this century are Ben Jonson's "Alchymist" and "Every Man in his Humor," Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rule a Wife and have a Wife" and the "Chances," Shirley's "Edward the Black Prince," and Massinger's "City Madam," in an alteration of which, under the title of "Riches," Kean used to act. To-day Massinger's "New Way to Pay Old Debts" and perhaps six out of Shakspeare's twelve comedies are all we have to represent the comic drama of Shakspeare and his contemporaries. It is true that now and then a venturesome manager may risk a little money in mounting one of the other comedies of Shakspeare, but the experiment never meets with popular approval and the revived play never lives with its own life; it has been only galvanized into existence; and as soon as the unnatural stimulus is withdrawn it falls back into its coffin.

Thus it appears that the Elizabethan dramatists—with the imposing exception of Shakspeare—and the dramatists of the Restoration have alike disappeared from the contemporary stage. But while the earlier drama has passed and left no sign, the later has imposed its form on all the dramatic writing which has followed it. Neither the serious nor the comic work of Shakspeare and his contemporaries is a potent influence on the drama of to-day. More's the pity, may say the critic; but the fact is a fact, none the less. Some of the tragic writers of the last century, Otway and Southerne and Rowe, for instance, reveal plainly enough their obligation to their great predecesors; but popular as were "Venice Preserved" and "Isabella" and "Jane

Shore" in their day and for many a long day afterward, they are popular now no longer. The sole surviving relics of Elizabethan imitation in plays which keep the stage are in Sheil's "Evadne" and in one or two of the dramas of Sheridan Knowles; and even in these the imitation is little more than skin-deep.

In comedy the case is quite as plain as in tragedy. After we have noted Sheridan Knowles's "Love Chase" and Tobin's "Honeymoon"—which is imitated rather from Garrick's "Katharine and Petruchio" than from Shakspeare's own "Taming of the Shrew"—mention has been made of all the comedies now acted which recall even faintly the method and manner of the master. It is indeed a very strange thing that the delightful comedy of Shakspeare, the wonderful woodland wit of "As You Like It," and the rich and rollicking humor of "Twelfth Night"—a wit and a humor ever charged with poetry, and as free and as fresh in this nineteenth century as in the sixteenth—has had little or no imitation from any of the long line of comic dramatists who hold their own briskly and brilliantly in the records of English literature. But so it is. The comedy of Shakspeare has been almost without influence on the rest of English comedy. To find its true successor we must needs cross the Channel to France and consider carefully the very curious likeness of certain of Musset's comedies, "On ne badine pas avec l'amour" for example, or the "Chandelier," or the "Caprices de Marianne." It is the comparison of a little thing with a great, no doubt; yet is not Mr. James right when he detects in the *quality* of Musset's fancy something that reminds him of Shakspeare? Surely if any one is curious to know how things have gone on in that Bohemia which is a desert country by the sea, he can do worse than devote himself to the dramas of Musset, and he will find in them at least a trace of the lyric sweetness which makes us all long to blaze our way through the forest of Arden.

The comedy of Ben Jonson, of which "Every Man in his Humor" is the consummate type, has had as little influence on its present successors as the more ethereal and poetic comedy of Shakspeare. The comedy of "humors," of the powerful presentation of comic character and the pushing of characteristics to the very verge of caricature, made a better fight for the right to



exist than any other dramatic form of the time. Even after Etherege with his "Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub" had set the example of a simpler and more effective development of character in emulation of the comedy of Molière, even after Etherege had been followed by Dryden and by Congreve, Vanbrugh, Wycherley, and Farquhar, not only did the comedies of Jonson continue to be acted, but later writers—like Shadwell—still imitated his exhibition of "humors." Altho the school died hard, die it did at last,—but for a time only. Perhaps there was in it some element consonant with national characteristics. It was not seen again in English literature until Smollett began to write novels suggested by the French "Gil Blas" (itself greatly indebted to the Spanish). Smollett's humor was both broad and elaborate, and it had a certain rough resemblance to Ben Jonson's. It was Smollett in all probability who exerted a baleful influence on George Colman the Younger, whose very comic and very careless plays are filled with characters so sharply outlined as to be almost silhouette caricatures. Smollett's greater rival, Fielding, brought up on Molière, has been followed by Sheridan. In our century, again, the comic formulas of Ben Jonson and Smollett have been expanded by Dickens, whose influence was felt at once on the contemporary stage. Thackeray, on the other hand, traces his descent through Fielding from Molière. The two schools are irreconcilable, and between them is an irrepressible conflict. The comedy of the present day is in some measure a compromise between the opposing schools. The form of the better class of comedy is Molièrian and all of the higher and important characters are cast in the Molièrian mould, while the lower characters, the comic servants and scolding women, are likely to have some survival of the "humors" of Ben Jonson and of the kindred caricatural methods of his followers Smollett and Dickens.

The reason why the influence of Molière is more potent on the form of English comedy than the influence of Shakspeare is not far to seek. It is that Molière represents a later stage of the development of playmaking. Now playmaking, as M. Taine reminds us, is as susceptible of improvement as watchmaking. In outward structure the plays of the great French dramatists who wrote

under Louis XIV. are more symmetrical and better built than the plays of the great English dramatists who wrote under Elizabeth and James I. Not only is the external form simpler and clearer, but the internal unity is in general more marked. It is hard to say just what is the subject of many Elizabethan dramas; there is never any difficulty in declaring at once the subject of any drama, comic or tragic, by Corneille, Molière, or Racine. The English play is often rough and rugged even when it is not formless and shapeless. The French play is always smooth and sharply outlined and logically complete. The English poet gives us only too often an inchoate and incongruous mass of poetic matter, a rude lump of ore, from which we must disengage the precious metal as best we may. The French poet is not as rich and he is not as free-handed; he fuses his ore and refines his gold and beats it thin and polishes it and fashions it curiously. In looking at the English drama of the Shaksperian epoch, the prevailing impression one gets is an impression of main strength, of rude vigor, of native wildness and profusion. In looking at the French drama of the Molièrian epoch, the prevailing impression is an impression of firm and delicate art. To write in the Elizabethan manner is tolerable only in those who have the lofty stature and giant grasp of the Elizabethans. Ordinary mortals will do better if they avail themselves rather of the safer and more orderly methods of the three dramatists who have given its greatest glory to the reign of Louis XIV. To say this is of course to acknowledge the superiority of the English dramatists in point of vigor and originality over the French. In mere mass of native ability it may fairly be called indisputable that the writers around Shakspeare were greater than the writers around Molière. And due exception must also be made of the benumbing effect of a blind obedience to stringent rules deduced from a misunderstanding of the deeds of the Greek tragedians and of the words of the Greek critics. The French, in their high regard for law, bound themselves with the chains of a pseudo-classicism, and in due time the life was choked out of their dramatic literature—to be restored only in this century by the application of the heroic remedies of the Romanticists. But even in France comedy was far more vigorous than tragedy. While there is a long stride from Corneille and Racine to Victor

Hugo, Molière was followed by Regnard, Marivaux, Lesage, and Beaumarchais. In England the imitation of French tragic models was short-lived, while the use of French formula of comedy, expanded to suit English tastes, continues to this day.

The improvement in playmaking, of which M. Taine speaks, coincides with the changes in the physical conditions of the stage. Molière began to write half a century after Shakspeare ceased to write; and in that half-century many and marked changes had taken place in the arrangement and constitution of the theatre. Shakspeare acted in a theatre bearing a very close resemblance to the court of an inn—from which indeed it was an evolution: his plays were performed on a little stage before a row of boxes and a turbulent throng standing and brawling in the pit, scarcely sheltered from the sun and rain. Molière acted in a theatre, well roofed, water-tight, made over from a tennis-court; and his plays were performed before and between rows of seated courtiers, often in the presence of the courteous king. The stage appliances of Shakspeare's time were so few and scanty as to be almost wholly absent; the change of scene, for example, was indicated by the change of a placard hung on the curtain which served as a background. The stage-machinery which Molière could command and of which he made use in the "*Festin de Pierre*" was elaborate and differed but little from that now available. In fact the difference between the theatre as organized in the time of Shakspeare and the theatre as organized in the time of Molière is enormous and radical; whereas the difference between the theatre as it was organized in the time of Molière and as it is organized to-day is unessential and trifling. The physical conditions of the stage under Shakspeare are altogether other than those of our time, while the physical conditions of the stage under Molière are substantially identical with those of our time. Therefore is it, in great measure, that the only English comedies which have survived fitly are those influenced by the art of Molière and made according to his formula and in accord with the environment of to-day.

That the merely mechanical part of playmaking is susceptible of improvement can scarcely be doubted by any one who takes thought on the matter. We hold a dramatist to far stricter accountability nowadays than did our forefathers.

Shakspeare, for example, concerned himself but little with the originality or the exact probability of his incidents; he repeated his tricks and devices with the utmost freedom; his thoughts were elsewhere; and he spent his strength on his men and women and not on the accidents which might happen to them. And altho in Molière's time the art of construction had made many advances, yet Molière himself was careless about his *dénouements*, about the untying of his knots, and he was wont indeed to cut them with a single blow. In our own day the dexterity of Eugène Scribe and of the two Dumas, father and son, has shown that the end is not yet. The improvement, however, is always along the lines laid down by Molière, and does not attach itself to essentials but only to the more ingenious combination and intertwining of incident. To bring this steady amelioration of the methods of the dramatist sharply before the reader, it is necessary only to compare two plays performed in the city of New York during the past season. One was the well-known "Honeymoon" of John Tobin, originally acted in 1805; the other was "Young Mrs. Winthrop," the latest work of Mr. Bronson Howard, the foremost of living American comic dramatists. Consider for a moment the directness and simplicity of Mr. Howard's play and contrast its straightforwardness with the bunch of broken threads which are tangled to form the story of Tobin's comedy. There is no need to compare the actual and essential literary value of the two plays. Tobin is as clever in dialogue as Mr. Howard, he has perhaps quite as much insight into human nature and perhaps a little more power to depict character, and he has the gift of poetry, which is denied the American dramatist; but it is plain that he did not know his trade as Mr. Howard does know it.

There are those, confirmed praisers of past times, who will protest, no doubt, against any comparison of an accepted classic of English comedy like the "Honeymoon" with a brand-new play of to-day like "Young Mrs. Winthrop." There are those who do not acknowledge that anything now to be seen on the stage is worthy of serious consideration. There are those who believe that the comedy of this century is wholly inferior to the comedy of the last century, and who would refer you to the so-called "Old Comedies" for proof that the stage of our time

cannot for a moment compare with the stage of times gone by. There are those who believe the drama to be in a dreadful decline. There are those, finally, answering fully to Douglas Jerrold's definition of a Conservative as "a man who will not look at the new moon out of respect for that ancient institution, the old one."

This allegation of the decline of the drama, often to be seen in print and heard in talk, is an instance of the willingness of people to grasp a glittering generality to save the trouble of thought. The word "drama" is very comprehensive, and before we can discuss the question as to whether the drama has declined or not we must first define what we mean by the "drama." Plainly it is not the theatre in general which is intended in this use of the word, for nothing is more notorious than the fact that the theatre has made enormous progress in all that pertains to its physical conditions, in architectural splendor, in decorative variety, in the accommodation of an audience, in the beauty of scenery, in the richness and accuracy of costume, in all the thousand and one details which serve to set off and heighten the effect of a theatrical performance; on the contrary, it is this very lavish elaboration of detail which the melancholy critic uses as a proof of decadence. It is almost equally plain that those who refer to the "decline of the drama" do not mean to declare a falling off in the histrionic art, for there never was a time when the art of acting flourished more freely and abundantly than it does now; there never was a time when there were more good actors than there are now; there never was a time, indeed, when the average of acting was higher than it is now—in so far as it is possible to reconstitute from the records of the past some image of a thing as evanescent as acting, for comparison with the present. It may be that there are not as good companies of actors now as there were half a century ago, when Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and the Haymarket, in London, had the pick of the English profession, and the Park Theatre in New York and the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia had companies only little inferior to those engaged at the three great London houses. Circumstances nowadays have unfortunately made it more profitable for a popular actor to make a stroller of himself than for him to unite with his fellows in



forming a strong company. Surely, however, no inhabitant of a city like New York, in which within a year occasion has been given to observe the *Daughter of Roland* of Miss Mary Anderson, the *Cassius* of Mr. Lawrence Barrett, the *Brutus* of Mr. John McCullough (in Payne's play, not Shakspeare's), the *Bardwell Slote* of Mr. William J. Florence, the *Colonel Sellers* of Mr. John T. Raymond, the *Rip Van Winkle* and *Bob Acres* of Mr. Joseph Jefferson, the *John Rantzau* of Mr. J. H. Stoddart, the *Mark Antony* of Herr Ludwig Barnay, and the *Othello* and *Lear* of Signor Tomaso Salvini,—no man, woman, or child who has been granted the power to see these remarkable performances within the six months of a single season has any right to declare a decadence of the art of acting.

The fact is that the phrase "the decline of the drama" can fairly be held to apply only to a decline in the drama itself, in the play acted, in the written and spoken word. Used thus, the phrase becomes distinct, and it has some meaning and some truth. Certain kinds of drama, certain departments of dramatic literature, have not only declined, they have practically disappeared. First and foremost is the tragedy. No tragic play of the last forty years has yet proved its right to exist and to survive. The taste for tragedy in the public has died away as either the cause or the consequence of the dirth of tragic writers. After all, as the Frenchman said, it is so easy *not* to write tragedies in five acts. And the modern romantic and pictorial drama, the bastard offspring of tragedy on one side and of the rude and rough melodrama on the other, has strangled its parents and rules in their stead. The transformation marks a complete change in public taste far more than it marks a decadence in dramatic literature.

The subject of the present pages is comedy; and those who venture on the cuckoo-cry that the drama is in a decline are prone to cite the so-called "Old Comedies" against any admirer of more modern comic work. Now what are the "Old Comedies"? And which are the "Old Comedies"? They are a score or so of comic plays written by various English dramatists at intervals during the hundred and fifty years intervening between 1700 and 1850, and distinguished from among

the thousands of other comic dramas written during that century and a half by the fact that they have had vitality enough to keep the stage. In all departments of literature there is a struggle for existence, and the acknowledged classics are the results of the survival of the fittest. It is by the same process of natural selection that twenty or thirty "Old Comedies" have been picked out of the thousand or two which were acted contemporaneously with them. It is with these picked and proved troops that the new English or American comedy is measured; and it is from a hasty comparison of the best of the past with the average of the present that the decline of the drama is declared. The unfairness of the proceeding needs no comment. When beneficent Time has thrashed out the dramatic literature of our day it will be possible to winnow comic plays written by men now living, which in due season will take their place among the "Old Comedies," and which will then hold their own against all but the very best of their companions. And as the best of the comedies of our day are not unequal to the best of the comedies of the past century and a half, so the worst of the plays of our day are not worse than the worst of the plays of the past. The ordinary playgoer speaks of the plays of the past with respect because he is ignorant about them and takes the unknown for the magnificent. The ordinary reader lacks courage to attack the immense mass of the plays of the past. There was in the library of the Reverend Mr. Arthur Dimmesdale a ponderous tome which the historian of the erring clergyman's struggles deems to have been "a work of vast ability in the somniferous school of literature." There is in the library of every dramatic collector a series of collections of little volumes containing some few chosen samples of the plays of the past; and the contents of these little volumes are of a certainty closely akin to the contents of the ponderous tome, in that they all have a powerful soporific virtue. And these little volumes contain less than one in twenty of the plays actually acted: they contain only the more readable specimens.

Nearly ten years ago Mr. W. S. Gilbert made an examination of the voluminous "Account of the English Stage from 1660 to 1830," written by the Reverend Mr. Geneste and con-



tained in ten solid volumes. He found that between 1700 and 1830 nearly four thousand dramatic works of one kind or another were produced in England ; and he declared that of these four thousand plays of all kinds produced in the course of one hundred and thirty years, "three thousand nine hundred and fifty are absolutely unknown, except by name, to any but professed students of English dramatic literature. Of the remaining fifty, only thirty-five are ever presented on the English boards at the present day ; of these thirty-five, only seventeen are works of acknowledged literary merit ; and of these seventeen, only eleven can claim to rank as standard works." That is to say, that during the hundred and thirty years when the drama in England, if not at its best, was at least the centre of literary interest and more important and more profitable than any other department of literature, only once in about ten years, on an average, was a play produced which by some union of popular attributes with literary quality has managed to survive to the present day. Only one play in ten years ! Since 1830 have we not seen produced on the stage plays worthy to survive the century and likely to accomplish that difficult task more often than once in ten years ?

We give ear to the picked plays of the past, and we give no thought to their innumerable companions "all silent and all damned." We see the comedies carefully culled by time, and we do not see their unlovely companions all faded and gone. We look abroad on the theatre of our own time, and the weeds have sprung up with the flowers, and they are far more numerous than the flowers, and they hide the flowers from us ; and many are wont to deny that there are any flowers at all. But the managers of the theatres in the year 1983 will probably find little difficulty in picking out of the ten thousand plays produced in England and America between 1800 and 1900 at least ten equal in quality to the average of those which now survive from among the plays written between 1700 and 1800.

It is not a hard task to make out a list of the so-called "Old Comedies," and the examination is not without interest. Mr. Gilbert did not go further back than 1700 ; and as has already been said in the present paper, there is only one play older than 1700 which still holds the stage—except Shakspeare's. This

one play is the "New Way to Pay Old Debts" of Massinger, acted at the Phoenix in Drury Lane and published in 1633. For seventy years after 1633 no English comedy was acted which keeps the boards nowadays. After 1703 they come a little more closely together; and it is perhaps best to draw up a chronological list of them, giving the name of the author and the title of the comedy.

- 1703—Colley Cibber's "She Would and She Would Not."
- 1709—Mrs. Centlivre's "Busybody."
- 1717—Mrs. Centlivre's "Wonder! a Woman Keeps a Secret."
- 1759—[Garrick's?] "High Life below Stairs."
- 1761—Colman's "Jealous Wife."
- 1762—Foote's "Liar."
- 1766—Garrick and Colman's "Clandestine Marriage."
- 1773—Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer."
- 1775—Sheridan's "Rivals."
- 1777—Sheridan's "School for Scandal."
- 1779—Sheridan's "Critic; or, a Tragedy Rehearsed."
- 1780—Mrs. Cowley's "Belle's Stratagem."
- 1792—Holcroft's "Road to Ruin."
- 1794—O'Keefe's "Wild Oats."
- 1797—Colman the Younger's "Heir-at-Law."
- 1801—Colman the Younger's "Poor Gentleman."
- 1805—Colman the Younger's "John Bull."
- 1805—Tobin's "Honeymoon."

From 1805 to 1830 no comedy was produced of sufficient vitality to have come down to us. But between 1830 and 1860 several plays were produced which by common consent are included among the "Old Comedies." These are:

- 1832—Knowles's "Hunchback."
- 1837—Knowles's "Love Chase."
- 1840—Bulwer's "Money."
- 1841—Boucicault's "London Assurance."
- 1844—Boucicault's "Old Heads and Young Hearts."
- 1852—Reade and Taylor's "Masks and Faces."
- 1855—Taylor's "Still Waters Run Deep."

Here, then, we have twenty-five plays written and acted between 1705 and 1855, a space of a century and a half. These are the "Old Comedies," and they are the survivors out of at least five thousand dramatic pieces of one kind or another. Of

course this list of "Old Comedies" is not absolutely identical with that which would be drawn up by any other student of the stage. As a matter of fact, probably no two persons would agree on exactly the same twenty-five "Old Comedies;" nor would another writer inevitably limit the number to precisely the quarter of a hundred. Due allowance must be made for the personal equation. As yet the canon of the "Old Comedies" has not been closed and declared by any council. The present list, however, is my doxy, and I do not believe that your doxy would differ greatly from it. Any list would probably contain at least twenty of these twenty-five. And as no list can be promulgated by authority, the one given above may serve as well as another.

One of the first remarks one feels called on to make, after considering this list of "Old Comedies," is that there has been no decline and falling off in the comic drama as here represented, and that—excepting always the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, two exceptional dramatists—the comedies written in this century are quite equal in literary value and theatrical effect to the comedies written in the last century. Without going again into this quarrel of the ancients and moderns, it may be said safely that the five latest plays on this list are not inferior to the five earliest. Lord Lytton's "Money," Mr. Boucicault's "London Assurance" and "Old Heads and Young Hearts," Messrs. Reade and Taylor's "Masks and Faces," and Mr. Taylor's "Still Waters Run Deep," taken together are quite as interesting a quintet as Colley Cibber's "She Would and She Would Not," Mrs. Cowley's "Busybody" and "Wonder" (Townley's or Garrick's) "High Life below Stairs," and Colman's "Jealous Wife." Artificial as are "London Assurance" and "Old Heads and Young Hearts," they are not more artificial than "She Would and She Would Not" or the "Busybody," and they are quite as lively and as bustling and as full of the rattle and snap of epigram and equivoke. In Cibber, indeed, the characters are wholly external and the superficial movement does not completely mask the essential emptiness; while in *Jesse Rural* Mr. Boucicault has drawn with many caressing and tender touches a type of simple and gentle goodness not unworthy of Goldsmith, by whom, no doubt, it was suggested.

And the "Jealous Wife," fine and strong as it is, can hardly be held more direct or vigorous than "Still Waters Run Deep,"—altho here the superiority of style lies with the elder writer. It cannot be denied that there has been of late years a falling off in the drama of poetic ideals and resolute elevation, from which the popular taste seems in some way to have turned; but it may be denied most emphatically that there has been any falling off in comedy itself.

The real cause of much of the talk about the decline of the drama is to be sought in the changed position of dramatic literature as compared with the other departments of literature. In Shakspeare's time the drama was the vent for the irrepressible outbursts of the national awakening. Under the Restoration, under Queen Anne, and down to the beginning of this century, the stage was to the aspiring writer the shortest way to fame and to a fair share of fortune: the drama was the form of literature most in view and held in highest respect. It might almost be said that it was the drama first and the rest nowhere. But with the brilliant successes of Scott and Byron as poets, and with invention of the modern novel by Scott, all this changed. It was as easy for the young writer to attempt a long poem or a novel as to compose a tragedy or a comedy; and the drama, from being the only form of literary endeavor in fashion, took a second or a third place and soon ceased altogether to be fashionable. And this sudden success of rival forms of literary art was coincident with a sudden increase in the number of theatres and a consequent multiplying of the number of plays produced. The average of merit in a stage-play fell at once. The mere mass of contemporary pieces kept the contemporary critic from seeing that the best of them were in no way inferior to the best of the past. And the contemporary critic knew that there was no man writing for the stage the intellectual equal of Scott or Byron, and he preferred to give his best attention to the literary work least worth attention. A glance at the table of dates in the list of "Old Comedies" given above will show that between the "Honeymoon" in 1805 and the "Hunchback" in 1832 no comedy was acted of sufficient force to have survived. This interregnum corresponds roughly with the reign of the Wizard of the North, the unknown author of "Waverley," who, by

some mystic spell, held the hearts of all readers for a quarter of a century. It is this time which marks the deposition of the drama from the first place in the favor of the literary class to a third or fourth place.

Another remark called forth by a consideration of this list of "Old Comedies" is that altho English comedy is very lively, far livelier than French, for example, fuller of bustle and gayety and far nearer to farce, it is not lacking in a substantial morality. Probably no one of these twenty-five "Old Comedies" was written with conscious moral purpose and to declare the viciousness of vice and the virtuousness of virtue; and no one of them obtrudes any other moral than the ever-admirable moral of a healthy life and of the duty of gayety and innocent mirth. Assuredly none of these comedies is fit to serve as a subject of Sunday meditation. It was Goethe in his old age who said, "It is strange that with all I have done, there is not one of my poems that would suit the Lutheran hymn-book." With the exception of Mr. Boucicault's two plays, which were the work of an old heart and a young head, and which are hard in tone and therefore not altogether wholesome, there is no one of these plays which any girl might fear taking her mother to see. There is no one of them which leaves a bad taste in the mouth. There is no one of them which will give you a troubled conscience at night or a troubled head in the morning. There is no one of them which will not give a hearty laugh and a few hours of pleasant amusement.

To ask more than this is to ask too much. "Veluti in speculo" and "Castigat ridendo mores" are good enough mottoes for a drop-curtain, but they are not to be taken seriously as part of the code of criticism. We look in the mirror—and we see our neighbor's failings and our neighbor's faults. The comic writer laughingly castigates manners—and we laughingly see the lash fall on our neighbor's back. "There are now quite as many Celimènes, Alcestes, Arnolphes. and Tartuffes as there were in Molière's time," says the younger Dumas, one of the masters of modern comedy; "we each of us recognize them, but they do not recognize themselves." In other words, comedy corrects no one; and, of a truth, correction is not the true mission of comedy. Conceding that Shakspeare's "Taming of



the Shrew" never cured a virago or Molière's "Avare" a miser, so much the worse for the virago and the miser; it is enough for comedy that it confirms the healthy in their health. So Lessing, the foremost of German moralists, tells us; and he adds that Molière's "Avare" is instructive to the extravagant man, and Regnard's "Joueur" to the man who never gambles: "the follies they themselves have not, others may have with whom they have to live." Perhaps no better words can be found with which to close this paper than those of Lessing on this very subject: "Comedy is to do us good through laughter, but not through derision; not just to counteract those faults at which it laughs, nor simply and solely in those persons who possess these laughable faults. Its true general use consists in laughter itself; in the practice of our powers to discern the ridiculous, to discern it easily and quickly under all cloaks of passion and fashion; in all admixture of good and bad qualities, even in the wrinkles of solemn earnestness. . . . A preservative is a valuable medicine, and all morality has none more powerful and effective than the ridiculous."

J. BRANDER MATTHEWS.



## GRAMMAR AND ÆSTHETICS.

MINUTE specialization is one of the prominent features of modern science. It is not peculiar to modern culture. Subdivision of the professions is as old as the pyramids. In the Athens of the best times there were those who made their living by the manufacture of hair-nets. An epigram of Martial informs us that there were surgeons in Rome who limited their practice to the effacement of the scars that disfigured the persons of branded slaves. But the narrowness of a handicraft is different from the narrowness of an intellectual pursuit, or rather an intellectual pursuit is reduced by this narrowness to a handicraft; and in this second half of the nineteenth century the joyous and adventurous swing of the human mind through the range of knowledge and science which marked the first half has been quieted down to a sober pace, not to say a treadmill gait. The line along which the earlier investigators flamed is now traversed by the solitary track-walker, who turns his lantern on every inch of the ground, and travel is often interdicted on account of the insecurity of the road. So much the better for those who are to come after us, but meanwhile life is lonely for the explorer. For times come to every such man when he feels an imperious necessity of justifying himself to them that are without, of seeking a larger audience than the narrow circle of his disciples and associates. True, the utter failure to come to an understanding with the rest of the world often sends the student back to his special work with a determination never again to tempt any communication with his fellows except on the most ordinary topics of social converse, and to lead his intellectual life alone. The old jarring contrast between the man of practice and the man of theory makes itself felt in every fibre of

a nature that, by its daily and hourly occupation, is made sensitive to the slight vibrations that are unheeded by the so-called men of the world, the men of affairs. One of the most famous pictures of this contrast has been drawn by Plato in his "Theætetus." Thales is the type of the philosopher, the thinker, who falls into a well while star-gazing, and is laughed at by his merry Thracian maid-servant for not seeing that which is before his feet. Your antique scholar, like your modern, goes mooning about the city. He does not know the way to 'Change; he cannot tell you where the court-house is or the city hall. He is a stranger to clubs and parties and dinners and banquets. He is profoundly ignorant of family history and family gossip. He is such a university man as the London *Times* described a few years since: "at sea he is a landlubber, in the country a cockney, in town a greenhorn, in business a simpleton, in pleasure a milksop." We all know the man, altho in the movement of modern life the type is becoming less common even in Germany, once the *habitat* of intellectual oddities and unpractical dreamers. The empire may possibly be responsible for the change, but certain it is that such a figure as Freytag's Professor Raschke, in the "Lost Manuscript," will soon be as extinct as the dodo.

Still, while the external differences are more and more effaced, and the professor is not singled out by his manners and his conversation, the inner dissidence will remain, and may perhaps increase with the advance of specialization. The professor, the student may become more like the rest of the world, but the heart of his life will be more remote from the bulk of mankind than was the case with the ancient scholar, whose range of sympathies was necessarily wide. Then to come back to Plato's philosopher, his ideal sage is utterly indifferent to the praise or blame of the world. In the modern specialist we often find a sensitiveness which is bred by the special studies themselves. Every one cannot attain to the philosophic calm which is, in the last analysis, philosophic selfishness, and which makes us resentful when we think of Plato and of Goethe. With Shakespeare we do not quarrel any more than we do with the nature of things. And so it is hard for one who is always seeking to find or to frame the key to the beautiful when the conviction is borne in

upon him that the more successful he is in his quest, the more certain he is to be set down among the mere locksmiths who are not suffered to enjoy the treasures which their patience and ingenuity have disclosed. The fewest have the divine faculty of imagination which is necessary to intellectual sympathy. A vivid representation of the conditions of another's life is possible only for chosen souls. Hence much blundering in all manner of missionary effort. The specialist at once loses himself in technicalities which the outsider cannot follow. To popularize without vulgarizing is one of the most difficult of arts. Nor is the specialist in his turn much comforted by those who, recognizing in him the specialist, patronize him by a real or simulated interest in his line of work. The Grecian does not like to be told that his interlocutor used to be fond of Greek when he was at college and still keeps it up after a fashion. This is in its way almost as bad as the threadbare, and, because threadbare, uniformly successful, jest about Greek roots. And so, between the condescension of those who wish to make some acknowledgment of the value of the special work and the rudeness of those who repeat the trite jokes of the outside world, the scholar, the student, the investigator withdraws into himself, himself disheartened despite philosophy, and the world possibly the poorer.

Now of all the special lines of work, among the most arid to the average mind is that of grammar. By grammar is not meant the "science of language," so called. The success of various popular exhibitions of this department shows that it is possible to interest a very wide circle in the curious facts and glittering theories that lie on the track and encompass the circuit of these studies. What I mean is grammar proper, that very grammar, carried to a higher power, which is the detestation of most youthful minds. No study more fascinating to those who are addicted to it; none more repulsive to the natural man. The average child hates parsing worse than he does arithmetic. Of course the attitude of the modern mind towards grammar is different from that of the ancient nations, for grammar is an inheritance with us, to them it was a slow growth; it has passed into our mental processes, to them it was a process apart. Still scientific grammar in its strictest sense is a horror even to a large class of people of cultivation. The average literary man cor-

dially dislikes the grammarian—or heartily despises him ; and as grammar becomes more and more detailed, as phonetics develop more and more, and syntax assumes more and more the alluring shape of a census-table, there is increasing danger lest philology shrivel up into mere statistic, and æsthetic be relegated to the mere *dilettanti*.

Phonology has grown into a science which threatens to overshadow the rest of philology. There is no possibility of withholding from the school of the “junggrammatiker” the tribute of admiration for the thoroughness of their method, which brings phonetic phenomena under rules of sharp physical consistency ; but one wishes a second life for this new line of work, as Lobeck did when he declined to go into Sanskrit. The theory of formation, instead of being simplified by the advance of science, has become greatly complicated, and the frank objective way in which facts are put remind one very much of the early machinery of grammar. The ancient grammarians divided the Greek declensions into “parisyllabic” and “imparisyllabic”—one of those inorganic arrangements that contain a germ of organic truth. Needless to say such a division was practically of no moment. The cases went their own sweet way, and well-meaning attempts to reduce the inflexions to order resulted in a formidable list of declensions. The reduction of the Greek declensions to three, and ultimately to two, was considered a great advance in the early decades of this century. Now that has proved to be a failure as far as simplification goes, and advanced grammar follows mechanically the endings of the stems. So we oscillate from diversity to unity, from unity to diversity again. Syntax has divorced itself from logic. All the grand generalizations in which the first scientific grammarians indulged have been abandoned. It is no disgrace to decline giving a definition of case or tense or mood. It is only a wise reserve. Your modern grammarian is statistic-mad. It is useless to tell him that statistic is nothing unless it embody some idea. The plan is to get all the empty shells ready in case a soul should be found to occupy them. Arrange your facts in some orderly manner, no matter how mechanical, and the seeing eye will discern vital principles. To an outsider this study—some might hesitate to call it a study—seems incredibly dull ;

work that ought to be assigned to a *servus litterarius*, even if he were as brainless as Caravella, the author of the "Index Aristophanicus," that marvel of patience and stupidity. Cruden, the author of the Concordance, was another semi-idiot. And yet questions of a higher nature are constantly rising in the midst of such work, questions that cannot be delegated to inexperienced and thoughtless compilers; and there comes to the writer the grim consolation that whatever befalls the theory, the facts will stand. Veitch's "Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective," will always be of more real value than most of Gottfried Hermann's grammatical theories; and there is much more in Veitch than a mere collector. But at times even the most determined statistician grows weary. He repeats to himself the warning that he must not theorize before he gets all the facts together. The hod may be a model hod, and the bricks without flaw; still the question will come up, Are we never to use mortar, even if it be untempered mortar?

Such is the present condition of grammar. It shows a strong tendency to assume the mathematical formula. Outsiders ask, What is the use of this array of figures? The answer is mainly negative, at least in the present stage of inquiry, and insiders themselves show here and there impatience. Grammar is becoming a dry and thirsty land, and the grammatical Achsah may well say, "Thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water."

Meanwhile æsthetic criticism is going its own way, a "primrose path of dalliance" with fine substantives, superfine adjectives—a path which is apt to lose itself in mere finical fault-finding or sympathetic phrase-mongery. The critics of our day are not the failures that Lord Beaconsfield's apophthegm would make them out to be. Like many other strictures of that cynical statesman, this does not apply to the present time; it is purely retrospective. Our foremost critics are our foremost producers, and the man whom many would consider the first critic of our time is acknowledged to be one of the best writers of our time. No man's style is more envied than Matthew Arnold's, and that by those whose envy is a compliment. Still there is a widespread distrust as to the ultimate value of all the æsthetic criticism of the day, sympathetic or other. The antique



critic, as we shall see, went into tangible details. He left a margin for unreasoned perception, for direct intuition, but his grounds are for the most part susceptible of test. Even the robust critic of the Johnsonese school is comprehensible, is refutable, if need be. Not so the supersubtle genius of the present day. He poses a line of poetry and then poses himself before the line, and if you do not see all poetry in that line, or do not hear all poetry in that line, you are blind and deaf. So Mr. Arnold in his introductory essay to Ward's "English Poets" gives a series of test verses for the appreciation of higher poetry. His Dante line is

"In la sua volontade è nostra pace."

His Chaucer line is

"O martyr soulded in virginitee."

He strikes these chords very deftly; he repeats these verses as a supernal melody. Who knows what mood is associated in his poetic brain with that melody? The overtone is perhaps what he hears. If any ordinary mortal like the present writer should set up another verse, say

"La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante,"

Mr. Arnold and Mr. Arnold's admirers might see, might hear nothing special in that; and yet perhaps something could be said for a verse which concentrates all the doom of Lucifer, as for

"In la sua volontade è nostra pace,"

and many a Chaucerian scholar may have his favorite instead of

"O martyr soulded in virginitee."

But any one who attempts to mediate between two extremes is in danger of being torn to pieces by the wild horses that he is attempting to yoke together; more furious and unbecoming controversy than has of late raged between poets and philologists would be hard to find in the unpleasant annals of the quarrels of authors; one would not like to have his patronymic travestied, or to be shown up as a dullard and pedant;<sup>1</sup> and yet

<sup>1</sup> Swinburne's name has been turned by one of his opponents into Pigsbrook; and the poet in one of his mildest passages speaks with characteristic alliteration of "the blackguard's loaded bludgeon of personalities," "the dastard's sheathed dagger of disguise."



with the full consciousness of the risk, he who is a lover of grammatical as well as of literary study can hardly refrain from making at least some effort to show how stronger hands than his may yet succeed in the work of reconciliation. There are men, and those not a few, who have at once the liveliest delight in the observation of grammatical phenomena and the keenest appreciation of literary beauties. Do these faculties work side by side without any correlation? It was said of Faraday that he had two lives which he kept apart; that he shut his laboratory when he went into his oratory. Is a similar statement true of the scholar? Is his enjoyment of the literary side of his work entirely independent of the scientific side? Are contemplation and analysis completely divorced? Every one who has attempted the close grammatical study of a supreme work of art knows how hard it is to keep steadily at the task when the passion of the piece grows strong. The notebook ought to drop from the hand when Odysseus stands forth revealed. Then, like the hero, the reader strips off the rags of grammar and goes into the fight.<sup>1</sup> But for all that the notebook should be picked up again, and the patient assemblage of facts resumed. In art nothing is small; and how fully this was appreciated in antiquity is shown by the study of the literary judgments of the great critics of antiquity. Antique criticism took into account much that we relegate to the grammar, even now that grammar is becoming more and more unæsthetic. Shall we not avail ourselves of the more exact methods of these days to secure a more objective standard of criticism? The attempt, as has been said, is dangerous in the extreme. The moral inferences, so to speak, which have been drawn from grammatical peculiarities in languages, dialects, periods, departments, individuals, are partly shadowy, partly hazardous, and yet not only is the problem fascinating in itself, but after all it is a fair problem. It may never receive a complete answer. This in the nature of things is impossible. The elements are too varied, too subtle. But it is susceptible of an approximate answer, and in time the outline of a system will be fixed. Between the salient points there will be room enough for the play of æsthetic fancy,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὰρ ὁ γυμνώθη ῥακέων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.

and fine writers can add arabesque to arabesque, but the structure itself will be essentially fixed.

If a better, a more objective æsthetic should be the outcome of grammatical study, this would only be a completion of the cycle. For grammar began with æsthetic. This can be shown historically, altho it is not necessary to go back to written records. If we wish to reproduce the past, it is only necessary to go down to a lower stratum, and the attitude of the uncultured mind toward language would give ample confirmation of this position. The artistic sense survives in the people to whom language ultimately belongs, and not to the makers of books. Doubtless the artificial language finds its way among the people. What is artificial, nay, what is individual in one generation becomes popular, becomes national in another. Yet it must be remembered that in the main, nay, in almost every fibre, the people owns the language, not king or queen, and in any natural scheme of grammar the unsophisticated classes are to be consulted. This widens the sphere of observation from the imperfect registry of manuscripts and the seclusion of the study to the living utterance and the open air of popular life. In this larger field we learn the immense importance of phonetics. What we analyze with so much care, the body of sound, is to the people as pronunciation, the main thing. Every one who has lived in foreign parts has had mortifying experience to record on this score. If one's intercourse is limited to the cultured classes, to those who have much to do with strangers, there is no great difficulty about making one's wants known. But with the masses the pronunciation is the great thing. Inflection may be twisted and syntax rent in sunder so long as the color of the sound is preserved. The lack of a familiar gasp or a special click, the failure to reproduce the intonation of a sentence, will make the foreigner unintelligible to the masses. Departure from the standard is visited with mockery. It is considered unbeautiful, it is the violation of a norm. Not that the people is unobservant of other defects, but of none is it more keenly observant than of this. The study of dialect is destined to lead to important results in this direction, but there are fields that lie untilled about us. If philologists lived more in the world, they might make valuable additions to the study of lan-

guage by noting the criticisms of the masses, and by finding out the sensitive points of the popular tongue. Perhaps there is less opportunity in this country for such observation, because language has been more levelled here than elsewhere, and the process is still going on; and yet there is opportunity enough. The advance of phonetics will enable us to register pronunciation more exactly, and we shall not be satisfied with such rude representations of sound as we find in the current spelling of Yankee, Southern, Western, or negro dialect. To him who has ears to hear and mind to reason there is a vast field open in the domain of every-day speech. Omnibus, street-car, railway, not a journey that takes us out into a new stream of collinguals but may furnish new specimens for our exhibit. The student of linguistic may go on an expedition for such a purpose with as clear a conscience as a mineralogist or a botanist.

It has just been said that the phonetic or, if you choose, the orthoepic side is that which strikes the popular mind most, and it might be worth while to examine early and unsophisticated representations of barbarous speech with a view to ascertaining the truth of this position. By "sophisticated" is meant grammatical. One who has learned his own language under the pressure of grammar is not a fair judge, and our material must be sought in pre-grammatical or extra-grammatical spheres. So, for instance, Aristophanes' representations of barbarous Greek have a philological, a grammatical interest. True, in his *Acharnians* the mock-Persian speaks a mock-Persian that bears as much relation to the true Persian as some of our mock-German-English ballads bear to real German-English. No German makes some of the mistakes that are attributed to all Germans. So this coarse work is fitly assigned to a coarse impostor in the *dramatis personæ*. But when Aristophanes himself represents the lingo of the Scythian archer in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, the work is much finer, and, so far as we can judge, quite on a level with any modern reproduction of the speech of foreigners, aided, as our reproduction is, in a measure, by the familiar categories of grammar. And it must be remembered that there was no such thing as grammar proper in the time of Aristophanes. He himself made merry over the categories, now most familiar to us, that were suggested by the thinkers of the time. False genders,

false cases, to the ear of Aristophanes must have been little more than mistakes in pronunciation. Viewed in this light, Aristophanes' representation of dialectic or barbarian Greek gains a new interest. The wonderful reproduction of musculature in Greek statues has led some to suppose that Greek anatomical studies were further advanced in the time, say, of Pheidias than tradition would have led us to suppose. The Greek divined the muscle under the skin. So Aristophanes, in his representation of the Greek of the Scythian archer or policeman of Athens, goes through every grammatical category, as if he were a trained observer. The barbarian drops his final consonants, simplifies his diphthongs, puts *tenuēs* for *aspiratæ*, evaporates his *h*'s, substitutes dative for accusative, and gets his genders wofully mixed. And with more art than many modern imitators of foreign speech, Aristophanes preserves here and there a group of correct Greek. Now all the grammar known to the most cultivated Athenians of that time pertained to the phonetic side of the language, and Aristophanes felt the barbarian blunders in syntax not otherwise than he represents Socrates to have felt the uncultured pronunciation of Pheidippides when he is brought to him for training. The differentiation belongs to a later period.

But the attitude of the ungrammatical mind toward grammar is too difficult a study to be attacked in passing, and it will be more profitable to show by some statements and illustrations the antique connection between grammar and æsthetic, and to give some hints as to a scientific restoration of their joint action.

The great difficulty, as has already been hinted, consists in drawing the line between grammar and rhetoric. The *syntaxis ornata* of the older grammars is pure rhetoric. Grammar as a regulative art, and as such it was considered until of late years, really takes up one side of rhetoric—correctness; and if there is any overlapping in the following exhibit, let it be forgiven.

Grammar rises after the decline of literature. It is originally retrospective, except when it has been passed on from nationality to nationality as the grammar of the Romans from the Greek, and modern grammar from Latin. It is always associated in its origin with interpretations either of an earlier monument of literature or of foreign speech, including dialectic

variation. Grammatical study arises from the necessity of expounding to later generations some great work that has made its language the norm for the period or for the department. The language of every-day life resists the analysis longest. It is astonishing to see how many centuries of thought and controversy were needed to settle the categories that every school-child knows after a fashion. The nomenclature of our grammar shows a long process of philosophical fermentation. Some of it, indeed, was not settled until a period long subsequent to the death of the antique world, and the consciously grammatical speech of the cultivated, which is in fact the great *gnomon* of cultivation everywhere, is a strange result of tradition and study.

There may have been, let us grant that there must have been, a time when every element in such a language as the Greek had its felt force; but there is no written record of that period, and ages before our first *data* the sharp lines had been rounded and the simple functions complicated. To maintain, as has been done, that every people thinks something not only at every utterance, but at every element of that utterance, is going too far—certainly too far for the resonance or “ding-dong” theory of language. Out of conscious composition, according to the dominant view, we pass into a feeling of total effect and general relation. At any rate, this is the condition in which we find language before the grammatical period, and the dawning of what we should call grammar lights up first the æsthetic side. The music to which the language is set, in other words the accent, attracted the attention of the Greek before anything else. “Acute” and “grave” were old in the time of Plato, and it is significant that the first element which the artistic Greek noted was the last to receive scientific treatment at the hands of modern grammarians. Modern grammarians were content to repeat the pretty saying of the ancients that “accent is the life-breath of the word,” and were very far from recognizing its far-reaching influence. To the same artistic side belongs the recognition of the power of the different letters—letters—for the ancients did not emancipate themselves from the external symbols, and even modern philologists have not all succeeded in keeping symbol and power apart. Every cultivated Greek, as early as the end of the fifth century B.C., knew the divisions



which are still popularly made in the "letters," and Plato draws his illustrations freely from this sphere as something familiar to all the personages of his dialogues.

But if we look further, we shall find in the heyday of Attic literature no genuine grammatical development. "Noun" and "verb" were used, it is true, but not in their strict grammatical sense. The moods were appreciated but not defined; the first crude attempt was purely rhetorical. Cases were unknown: if the Scythian archer used dative for accusative, the Greek of that time could only feel that he was wrong. Plato makes sharp distinctions between the tenses—distinctions which modern grammarians, at least until of late years, did not take in; he draws a fine line in the "Euthyphron"<sup>1</sup> between the participle as participle and the participle as predicative adjective; but subtle as Plato was, he could not have formulated his propositions grammatically. But it is not necessary to sketch the development of technical grammar, to point out what Aristotle contributed, what the Stoics, what the Alexandrians. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that it was soon divorced from science and became a purely regulative art. The early observers who marked the difference between vowel and consonant were truly scientific. Not so those who collected glosses and barbarisms and solecisms for the interpretation of the earlier poets, for the training of youthful Hellenists. The diligence and acumen of the long line of grammarians are not to be underrated, and yet we find only here and there a mind that thinks a truly scientific thought as to the functions of grammatical forms. And so it continued down to times that are very near our own. Grammar was and is still to many the art of reading, writing, and speak-

<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to interpret a Platonic passage. Suffice it to note that Plato is equal to grammatical distinctions that sorely puzzle his commentators if they are not of a grammatical turn. Grote says on the passage referred to ("Euthyphron," 10 A-D.): "The manner in which Socrates conducts this argument is over-subtle. The difference between the meaning of *φέρεται* and *φερόμενον ἔστι* is not easy to see"—nor does Grote see it, and, not seeing it, naturally considers it over-subtle. Jowett, being a professed Grecian, which Grote was not, explains the passage thus: "The next objection . . . is shipwrecked on a refined distinction between the state and the act, corresponding respectively to the adjective (*φιλον*) and the participle (*φιλουμενον*), or rather perhaps to the participle and the verb (*φιλουμενον* and *φιλεῖται*)." Can anything be more deplorable than such a hit-or-miss alternative?



ing correctly, not the exhibition of the structure and growth of language.

As an art grammar entered largely into antique æsthetic criticism. The ancient models were studied with a view to imitation, and the analysis extended to every element of discourse. Nothing that had been recognized as characteristic was overlooked, and no modern criticism can compare with this microscopic dissection. Few but professional philologists push their studies into the domain of the Greek and Roman rhetoricians, and even these are apt to become impatient with what must seem at first to be fanciful detail, or at best only applicable to the forms of the classic languages. But while we may consider this study tedious in itself and futile in its aim as a regulative art, there is much to be learned from the old rhetorical use of grammar as an *organon* of æsthetic appreciation. The ancient rhetorician took into account phonetics, word-formation, syntax, periodology, all from a purely subjective point of view. Now all these matters fall under the observation of the scientific grammarian, all are subjected to rigid measurement and computation. We know the proportions in which the different vowel-sounds appear in given monuments of literature ; we know what sequences, what combinations of sounds certain languages will tolerate, the emergence and the disappearance of such and such terminations, the growth and limit of case-use, tense-use, the extent of section, member, and period ; and while it is not proposed to make a mathematical æsthetic on the basis of grammar, it may be possible to remove some part of criticism out of the range of mere sensibility and opulent phraseology. A type of the system to which we may look forward in the remote future is presented by the recent advances in the study of antique metres. Before the development of the new system of antique metres, or rather the rediscovery of the old system, the construction and recitation of lyric measures in Greek and Latin were left very much to individual taste and feeling. Whether a man read an ode of Horace or an epinician of Pindar or a chorus of Sophocles well or ill was a matter between the reader and his audience, if not between the reader and himself. There was no standard. The result was not absolutely satisfactory ; appreciation of the rhythm was confined to a few ; and

the admiration was conventional, and nothing is more deadening to the sense of the beautiful than conventional admiration, from which, it may be said by way of parenthesis, the study of the classics has suffered more than from all other troubles put together. Now that the great principles which regulate the movement of antique rhythm are brought within the comprehension of every student, now that we can trust to the correcting finger as well as to the less certain ear,—*si modo digitis callemus et aure*,—the enjoyment is surely not less real, not less deep, because it is both so much more exact and so much more explicable. Of course it is not maintained that any such system can be perfected for the relations of grammar and literary art. Much detail is yet unsettled even in metrical study, and the problem before us is, one might almost say, infinitely more complicated. Still the task is not hopeless, and altho it has never been approached in a systematic way, partial results and undesigned successes show what may yet be accomplished.

It has just been said that the ancient rhetoricians, who were the æsthetic critics of antiquity, went into a much more minute analysis of their authors than would be tolerable now; and as the object of this paper is to vindicate minute grammatical study with a view to æsthetic result, it may not be considered irrelevant to call up the grammatical points which are to be found in one of the various *critiques* by the famous rhetorical writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This great critic was in some respects an unfair and pedantic judge, yet his writings deserve all the close study which they have received of late years. Minute he is, but not arid, and there are passages in his rhetorical works which would not be unworthy of Mr. Pater or Mr. Symonds.

In his admiration of Demosthenes, Dionysius seems to have gone to the extent of underrating all other Greek writers in order to heighten the stature of his idol, who in his judgment overtopped them all, avoided all their defects, and combined in culmination all their merits. Yet he has keen insight, just tact, and in the merely sensuous side of his criticism, that which pertains to rhythm and color, we must still be content to learn of him. Now Dionysius' judgment of Thucydides is thought to be singularly harsh, and it is adduced here only to show first what the categories are which antique criticism thought it right

to bring in, and then to ask whether some of these categories are not such as may be satisfactorily filled by the processes of modern grammar. Not that it will be thought necessary to give an analysis of the long essay which Dionysius has devoted to Thucydides. He himself has gathered up in a shorter tract what he considers the peculiarities of the style of the great historian, and from a summary of this we may cull the grammatical elements.

According to Dionysius, Thucydides went deliberately to work at a new style of his own, one that was neither pure prose nor absolute poetry, yet blended out of the two. It must be noticed that the ancient critic writes of Thucydides as many modern critics have written of Carlyle—not as tho his style were the man, the expression of his individuality, but a mechanical contrivance, with a deliberate view to novelty of effect. How far the ancient critic and the modern are right this is not the place to inquire, altho Carlyle almost makes confession of conscious mannerism in his *Reminiscences*, one of his best or at all events one of his most characteristic productions. By the way, some one with a turn for computation has counted the parentheses in the *Reminiscences*, and it is much to be wished that the same observer had watched the rise and growth and general norm of parentheses in Carlyle, so that this paper might have received an additional illustration from a familiar region. Was parenthesis a designed peculiarity of Carlyle, which afterwards passed over into blood and bone? Were the characteristics of Thucydides so many evidences of artistic purpose as Dionysius would have us to believe? It would be a capital mistake to attribute full consciousness to the greatest writers, and the value of the study discussed in this paper would be much diminished by such an assumption. Dionysius, it must be remembered, looked upon his author with the eyes of a rhetorician, who is in search of a norm for practice. This study has to do only with the appreciation, not with the creation, of works of literary art.

Dionysius, then, treats Thucydides as an innovator, not by virtue of a native necessity, but in the interest of striking effects. As to his phraseology, his selection of words, Thucydides uses tropical expressions instead of literal, glossary vocables instead of current words, archaisms instead of the common and familiar

language of his contemporaries. This is another charge freely made against innovators of our day, both in prose and poetry. True, it is one that does not come fully within the scope of grammar, but the next set of peculiarities is strictly grammatical. Some scholars have gone so far as to call English a grammarless language. Some have claimed a similar character for Thucydides, or at any rate have said that Thucydides is not to be judged by the rules of ordinary grammar, and so can never be called ungrammatical because he is not holden of grammar. Dionysius goes further and makes him antigrammatical, as one who deliberately sets himself to disappoint the grammatical sense of his reader. As there was no technical grammar in Thucydides' time, this designed discord must have been brought about by feeling rather than by reasoning; and while Thucydides might have understood his critic when he says that the historian loves to expand a word into a sentence, and again to contract a sentence into a word, he would not have understood so well, if at all, when the critic says that he makes verbs out of nouns, and nouns out of verbs; shifts actives and passives; exchanges singulars and plurals; blends feminines with masculines, masculines with feminines, both with neuters, to the utter confusion of natural sequence; deals in daring constructions according to the sense; is no respecter of grammatical persons; is lavish in the exchange of tenses, and behaves generally in a manner that in a lesser author would be called solecistic. He indulges in abstracts for concretes, and concretes for abstracts, he lets parenthesis in as a flood,—a Carlylese trick, as we have seen,—and so his sentences become twisted and hard to disentangle. It will be noticed that the critic runs his categories together, as we should say; for to Dionysius periodology was a much more important thing than it is to us. It would carry us too far to explain the other strictures on the Thucydidean style—as to the build of the sentence, the equalization of the members, the jingle of the clauses, the play on words, the balanced antitheses. What is important for us to notice has been verified—the large part that grammar, pure and simple, plays in this characteristic. Now Thucydides is confessedly an extreme, as much an extreme as Carlyle, and we must expect to find every peculiarity exaggerated in him; but it is by these

extremes that we learn the outline. The insight into finer distinctions comes only after multiplied observations. Hence a notorious case has been selected. It is not supposed for a moment that even in modern literary criticism grammatical peculiarities have not been noted, but they have not been systematically studied, and there has been little serious attempt to get at the moral, the æsthetic value. This value, recognized by the ancient critics in a general way, is susceptible of more exact ascertainment,—thanks to the exhaustive methods in vogue,—and such an ascertainment is the highest as it is the most refined result of grammatical study. Dionysius has elsewhere, as, for instance, in a remarkable and valuable treatise on “Composition,”—that is, the arrangement of words in the sentence,—gone largely into the euphonic side of literary art, the sequence of sounds and the artistic effect of the combination of the phonetic elements. This, too, is grammatical, or at all events borders on the sphere of grammar, and with the advance of phonetics we may expect here also sharper formulæ and clearer results. The symbolism of sound is, it is true, a most treacherous subject of investigation, and, looking at the fantastic tricks that have been played with the correspondence of sense and sound in ancient as well as in modern times, it is well to be cautious. The permeation of the “lightning letter” *i* (pron. *ee*), the hissing hate of the repeated *s*, the dull obstinacy of the dental, and the loving lapse of the liquid,—all this symbolism has had a fascination for minds of a certain order from the beginning; and those who are intolerant of such fancies in others fall into similar fancies themselves. A man who will sneer at the symbolism of Homeric verses as expounded by the old interpreters will not hesitate to recognize moral and æsthetic elements in the vowel register and consonant range in various dialects of the same language. How far fancy can be excluded and science be introduced is a problem which the advance of phonetics must solve. It may be the dream of a pedant to suppose that the æsthetic appreciation of an author as an artist can be furthered by the tabulation of his vowels and his consonants; and yet, inasmuch as quite as subtle an element, the sufferance of the *hiatus* has done good service as a criterion of genuineness, and to a certain extent as a criterion of style, it is not well to reject with



scorn the possibility of a successful application of these delicate tests. Physical science has of late years in all its departments made marvellous advances in the invention of instruments of precision. Everything is weighed, counted, registered, to the nicest exactitude: but weighing, counting, registering, all signify something. Shall grammatical weighing, counting, registering signify nothing? Leave the largest possible area for convention. If there is but one word to express an idea, the individual taste must accept that word, whatever its phonetics; but is there not a margin of choice which is sufficiently susceptible of mensuration to be characteristic? May not phonetics come in here, even in a language apparently so careless in this respect as the English? The love of variation is a marked natural peculiarity of English style; it was loudly proclaimed by the translators of the Authorized Version. Do we not find the same principle at work in the phonetics of our literature, our written art? Poets have occasionally noticed some points. So Coleridge somewhere remarks on the disagreeable effect of blended assonance and consonance—such a sequence of rhymes, for instance, as *rose, grown, blows, cone*, being offensive to the ear by the want of contrast.<sup>1</sup> But poets do not often make their combinations scientifically; they group sounds as florists group flowers, by the complementary sense, and leave the scientific appreciation to others. Professor Sylvester's essay on the "Laws of Verse" shows the fruitfulness of this method as applied to poetry. For artistic prose little has been done either on the appreciative or on the regulative side.

Periodology belongs to the music of style as well as the sequence and combination of sounds. This also falls within the domain of grammar at least in its elements. The importance of periodology in the estimate of antique composition has of late

<sup>1</sup> In his "Science of English Verse," which is a contribution to the phonetic and musical side of style, the late Mr. Sidney Lanier has laid down as one of the laws of rhyme: "Avoid neighboring rhymes which are very nearly alike in tone-color. For example, if two lines rhyme with 'name' and 'fame,' do not have the two next lines rhyming in 'vain' and 'stain,' or similar near shades of vowel-color. The result is like two contiguous shades of pink in a dress: one of the rhymes will seem faded." Elementary and obvious as such a rule may seem, it must have been new in Coleridge's time.



years been fully recognized, thanks to a renewed study of the ancient authorities. The symmetrical structure of the oratorical period, the proportion of its members, the distribution of its feet, all these matters now enter into characteristics of style, and become important for questions of individual development as well as of genuineness. It is not necessary to insist on the self-evident fact that in this region of æsthetics minute statistic and careful measurement are not only possible but are susceptible of valuable application.

The term syntax in its modern use is so vague that it runs over freely from the grammatical to the rhetorical side of the study of language, and yet even in the narrowest sense in which it can be taken, the theory of construction, it may have an æsthetic value. It is not a matter of indifference as to the æsthetic effect of composition what the dominant constructions are—and there is yet open a wide field of observation in this direction. Sporadic remarks are found in grammars and commentaries, but much more remains to be found out and brought into tangible shape. For great departments and great periods of literature some of these observations are of more importance than pages of exclamatory admiration. We contrast the epos of Greece with the epos of Rome. One grammatical difference sums the whole matter up. No historical present in the one, while the historical present abounds in the other. Nothing more is needed for him who appreciates the range of grammatical phenomena. The wide sphere of the dative in Latin poetry is another such significant fact. Now as the examination of the usages of different periods and different authors becomes more exact, more detailed, we shall find a potent meaning in much that seems to us indifferent now.' The writer's consciousness

<sup>1</sup> "La plus belle tâche que puisse se proposer la critique, c'est de repenser avec clarté ce que la génie a conçu plus ou moins confusément, et, semblable à Mercure, de se faire près des hommes l'interprète des dieux. Voilà pourquoi je ne me laisse point arrêter ou troubler par l'objection commune : 'Vous prêtez aux poètes des intentions qu'ils n'ont pas eues.' Qu'importe qu'ils ne les aient pas eues, si elles sont dans leurs œuvres ? Tout ce que l'étude peut y découvrir, la critique a le droit de le développer avec une abondance, une largeur d'analyse vraiment illimitée ; elle ne risquera guère de s'égarer si elle est sympathique et respectueuse et elle ne doit craindre en aucun cas d'épuiser le sujet," etc. (Paul Stapfer, "Shakespeare et l'antiquité," i. p. 316.) The same line of defence

would make the study of less interest, of less value to us who follow the appreciative rather than the regulative side. But in this unreasoned choice, if the expression be not an absurdity, the characteristic often lies. When we compare two authors, we are apt to look chiefly at the range of thought and the vocabulary. Periodology is considered only in its extremes; euphony is not brought to any scientific test; and syntax is not studied except in its monstrosities. Ask an ordinary student, "What is the difference between the style of Addison and that of Johnson?" Would the answer be anything like the one given by the shrewd observer who says: "One of the chief points of contrast in their style lies, I apprehend, in the easy and natural recurrence in the former of the verb, and the artificial preponderance given in the latter to the noun. Since Dr. Johnson's time the substantive has been gaining ground; the infinitive mood, the gerund, and the compound participle have been in the same proportion suppressed in many works of which the composition is highly elaborate. As far as unstudied writings may be expressed in set phrase, the usurpation has extended even to these"? This is a grammatical observation of wide reach and capable of ample illustration; yet those who are outside of grammatical study would see in the collection and registration of such facts nothing but the senseless toil of the pedant. Of course much depends on the texture of the language; statistics that would be valuable in Greek would be worthless in English, and it requires a certain clearness of vision to see what are true analogies. Yet with just limitations it is true that the statistic of construction does serve to fix the characteristic of style not only in periods and departments, but also in individuals. Given, for instance, a certain conditional combination in Greek; determine the frequency of its occurrence in comparison with another conditional in various departments and in a series of authors, and it will be found that in that one category we have a sharp index of character. The tragic poets will employ the severer conditional in larger proportion than prose writers, and as compared with one another the nearer they approach the standard of

applies to grammatical analysis. Sophocles could not have given a reason for his use of the negative; and Mr. Bryant's grammatical explanation of *shall* and *will* in his "*Thanatopsis*" seemed to me faulty, when I read it.

every-day life the smaller the proportion becomes. Comic poetry stands in this respect on the same level with prose, and prose in emergency rises to the level of tragedy. It is true that there is more exciting reading than a table of decimals, but those decimals have after all a meaning; and if a lodgment has been gained for the thought that all the minute grammatical research of the present day may be made available, and is to be made available, for literary criticism, for æsthetic appreciation, something has been done in vindication of the much-abused fellowship of grammarians—the “corner-hummers,” as the Greek epigrammatist<sup>1</sup> contemptuously calls them. That it is possible to forget the end in the means, that there are those who never go beyond the collection of facts, is most true; but there are others, and those not a few, who while they put aside the mere diletantism of æsthetic phrase-making are not insensible of the total effect, and while they use the measuring-rod are not blind to the chambers of imagery—to cherubim and palm-trees and lions (Ezek. ch. xli.). Music and architecture rest on mathematics; and no one denies to the votaries of music and architecture the due appreciation of their arts because of counterpoint, because of studies as to the strength of material. The very love for art forbids the neglect of any detail, and the quest of some principle, the effort to get exact expression for every manifestation of spiritual life, is not unworthy of the highest intellectual faculties. Wherever there is true art there is law, however it may hide itself under the facts, and this recognition of law lifts the study of literary art out of the domain of elegant trifling and carries it into a region where art and science meet.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

<sup>1</sup> γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμνηεν  
τὸ σφῖν καὶ τὸ σφῶν καὶ τὸ μιν ἡδὲ τὸ νίν.

## ART IN AMERICA IN 1883.

ALTHO under the ebb and flow of the art-life in America there is, no doubt, a steady current of progress, yet, for the chronicler, it would have been better had he been asked to make report of what he saw in the year of grace 1878, rather than of what is going on about him in the world of to-day. To a superficial eye it would seem as if, in the year just now beginning, art were, if not positively declining, then standing still—at all events no visible progress making, and discouraging signs plenty, both as to the condition of the public mind on the subject of art and as to the condition of the studios. In 1878, however, the field gave promise of a rich harvest; it may be asserted without fear of gainsayers that the first exhibition of the Society of American Artists held in that year marked a distinct era in the history of art in this country; it was the first answer American artists had made to the strivings of heart excited by the Centennial Exhibition, where a picked collection of American pictures was seen for the first time in our own country side by side with pictures from the countries of the Old World, and the jejune condition of our art as a whole made thereby uncomfortably manifest. All was Europe and water: more Europe in one picture or statue, more water in another, but all borrowed; the exceptions so few which smacked of the native soil and air as hardly to be worth counting. But, in the midst of our discontent, we hailed the return home of several artists belonging to the colonies of Paris and Munich who raised our spirits with the sight of their vigorous and manly pictures; then came the exhibition of the Society of American Artists, and for the first time there was awakened in this country a real living interest, outside of the artist-circle, in art-questions. The younger art-

ists had gone off, nearly in a body, from the Academy, and this exhibition was at once their challenge to the elder body and their justification of their action to the public. The movement naturally drew to their side the greater part of the young and enthusiastic of both sexes: the Amazonian contingent was considerable in numbers and far from contemptible in talent; in the exhibition the women appeared on equal terms with their brothers in art, and tho they have not as yet accomplished anything considerable in the field of art proper, yet they have done their full share in the later development of the minor, and the so-called decorative, arts.

But, as was to be expected, the honors of the new day belonged to the men, and the names of Shirlaw, Duveneck, William M. Chase, Alden Weir, Francis Lathrop, Wyatt Eaton, Will. Low, Bunce, Augustus St. Gaudens, Olin L. Warner, suddenly usurped the public attention to the exclusion for a time of even the best of the Academicians. The works of the new men were so fresh, so strong, so interesting, that, for a time, we did not see their defects, and did not care to see them. Their dash and unexpectedness made the Academy seem tame, and we heard all this tameness summed up in the newly invented stigma, "the Hudson River School," with which our pastoral and chromo-lithographic art, till then firm-seated in the popular heart, was now daily pestered by the confident lovers of the new. And, in truth, it was time for the Hudson River School to at least begin to die. It had played its part, and played it well, but it lingered on a stage where Irving and Paulding and Bryant and their disciples had acted a similar part in our spring-time literature, and had said Farewell, and now in art also we were ready for a new set of players. It was not possible to regret the change. Nothing more alien to what is recognized as art everywhere, outside of England at least, has ever existed anywhere, than the now defunct or moribund school of landscape once so much delighted in as the American school, but now so slightly spoken of as the Hudson River School. It has a historical value, and specimens of it deserve to be collected in the museum of the future as characteristic of the pleasant and peaceful if a trifle tame and tedious days "before the war." Nevertheless the hope may be expressed that in the museum of



the future it will not be thought necessary to collect these specimens by the gross as has been done in the case of two of the most amiable representatives of this school, Mr. Wm. T. Richards and the late Mr. Kensett. Historical value of a certain mild sort it may be allowed these pictures have; but artistic value they never had, nor can any turn in the wheel of Fashion or of Fortune ever make them seem artistic to a future generation. This was assuredly not wholly the fault of the men themselves; it was in great part the fault of their time. It is not wholly the merit of the new men that they are interesting. In the stir and rush and hurly-burly of these exciting days of revolution, when we are getting ripe for the new politics, the new religion, the new social order—

“The parliament of men, the federation of the world”—

everything that is in harmony with the time becomes interesting. And the new men being all young are necessarily in harmony with the new time. If one wishes to feel this difference to the full, let him go directly from the Academy exhibition of this year to that of the Society of American Artists. It is hard to believe that the two collections could have been got together in the same city. In the Academy by far the greater number of the pictures are of the tame, perfunctory, merchantable type with which these walls have so long made us familiar. There are scarcely a dozen pictures here in which the lover of art, the artist, the poet, or even the man or woman of ordinary culture, can take more than a momentary or accidental pleasure. It is true, as is generally conceded, that the present Academy exhibition is an uncommonly poor one, altho its badness—for its poverty has nothing negative about it!—is not of the kind that we expect on casting up our eyes, on mounting the stairs, to the large picture by Mr. Robert Hinckley, “Alexander at Persepolis,” nor what one fears it may turn out on catching a glimpse of Mr. J. H. Beard’s “Race for Life.” Perhaps if more of the contributors to this exhibition had sent in pictures of this type we should have had a livelier time of it, and not have been in danger as we now are of going to sleep on the lounges after a footsore search for something to stir our intellects. Even artists whose general merit is undisputed seem to go wrong when they paint for the



Academy. Mr. Winslow Homer, one of the few artists who, in spite of his foreign training, has always kept his individuality clear and distinct, and whose work always has a home-flavor, is strikingly inferior, as seen in this gallery, to himself as he appeared in the late water-color exhibition. But in fact he does not belong here at all, and we are always tempted to ask—with a twist to the question—when we find him in these desiccated rooms, "*Que diable fait-il dans cette galerie?*" And Mr. Millet, who has by an unlucky chance hit upon a subject that breeds endless comparisons with Mr. Dewing's "Prelude," does certainly not come up to his own standard in his queerly named "The Story of *Ænone*"—pseudo-Greek and awkward girls in a row on a bench reading, or listening to, any story from any book. But 'tis not my errand to discuss the Academy exhibition; everybody who cares for pictures as pictures knows how low the standard is, and knows too how honestly the Academy makes no effort to alter it or to get beyond it. And the public furnishes a class of people who are satisfied with the kind of goods provided, and who would feel lost and discontented if they did not find in the Academy rooms the soporific atmosphere to which they have always been accustomed there.

In the exhibition of the Society of American Artists we find a totally different state of things. Here the look of the walls suggests, if anything, defiance to purchasers rather than a bid for their favor. If there should be anything that the elect are at once seized with a mad desire to buy, it is sure to have been sold before it was sent in; and, as a rule, the pictures are such as appeal only to people who have been used to see and admire pictures that are pictures. In the present exhibition a fine Velasquez loaned from his rich collection by a generous lover of pictures has been hung by the Society for the avowed purpose of setting up a standard, more of course for the artists themselves than for the public; and tho the pictures this year, taken altogether, are not equal to what we have seen in this Room in other years, yet Velasquez seems, nevertheless, at home here, like an elder brother among his younger brothers. But what would a picture by Velasquez, or by any one of the masters, do with itself in the Academy? It would feel sadly out of place, and every one who saw it would detect the incongruity.

The curious point to notice is that the Academy, thought to be so conservative, and declaring itself to be so, is yet in reality out of sympathy with the older art, and alien to the great schools, in its whole practice. It cannot be called an innovator; for that, ideas are necessary, and no one ever accused the Academicians, as a body, of having ideas. Their boast is that they have none. They laugh at the new school for having them, or for thinking that they have them, and they keep their doors rigorously shut on all applicants for honors who cannot show an entire freedom from all revolutionary notions. The Academy therefore cannot, as I have said, be called an innovator, but, as no body of men, any more than an individual, can stand still, it follows that, as the Academy is not advancing, it must be going backward, and this it is certainly doing year after year. I do not know a single Academician, nor an Associate, whose work this season shows any improvement on what he has done in the past. If the exhibition were made up wholly of the work of members it would be indeed an unendurably dull display. It is only saved by a dozen or so small pictures at the hands of novices, or of persons little known to fame; it owes no debt to any painter with a national reputation.

The Academy is the shrine of an old ceremonial religion, and would be a wholly depressing place were it not that a few young acolytes have adorned its rusty altars with a vase or two of fresh flowers. The exhibition as a whole represents the decay of old principles, the service of models which are no longer seen with the quick eyes of youth, but are only dimly reflected in the memory, and have long ceased to exercise a living, stimulating influence on the practice. Its light still flickers before the image of Art, but, where it once lighted the traveller on his way, it can scarcely be seen in the electric light of to-day.

The new men, on the contrary, are for the most part men who have come home fresh from the quickening study of the great Italian, Spanish, and Dutch artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and from the companionship of students and artists in various parts of Europe who are moved by the same enthusiasm for Velasquez, Titian and Veronese, Rembrandt, Franz Hals, and for the moderns who have themselves been inspired by these masters. The heroes of the men who

make the real stuff of the Society of American Artists—for there are men in this society who do not naturally belong to it—are no longer Delaroche and Horace Vernet, Landseer and Maclise; no, nor even Millais and Leighton, Alma Tadema and Tissot. They worship Delacroix, and Rousseau and Troyon, and Jean-François Millet, and Corot, and Vollon, and Courbet, and Manet, with the Dutchmen,—Mettling, Hill, the brothers Maris, Mauve, and a small school of water-color painters whose drawings make all other water-colors look washed out or crude or muddy in the comparison.

For a knowledge of many among these moderns the public of our Eastern cities owes a great debt to a singularly interesting man who came among us about six years ago, and who has had more influence in shaping public taste in the direction I have just indicated than even the artists themselves whom I have named. Mr. Daniel Cottier is a man so shy of obtruding himself upon the public notice that I must run the risk of offending him by speaking as I do, because it is simply impossible to leave him out in reckoning the factors of our present growth or even in stating the new conditions at which we have arrived. Just as Boston, and then New York, owes her knowledge of Courbet and Millet to the late Wm. M. Hunt, so does New York, and then Boston, owe to Mr. Cottier her knowledge of Monticelli and Michel, Mettling, Mauve, Stacquet, and I may say Corot,—for out of Mr. Cottier's rooms have gone the best examples of Corot that have been seen here, and he still owns in the "Orpheus" one of the finest pictures that Corot ever painted. He owns, too, the original of Millet's "Sower," the greatest work of that giant among moderns, and of all the artists I have named above he has or had examples showing them at their best. As for the others, leaving out Courbet, Millet, and Corot, unquestionably the greatest, they were to all intents practically unknown to us before Mr. Cottier opened his rooms in this city and fired first a few, and then more and more, with the generous enthusiasm he himself feels for these inspiring works. Many of us had long found the Bouguereaus, the Gérômes, the Tademas, aye, and the Meissoniers, with all the literary crowd of their followers, freaks, and variants,—the anecdotists, the archæologists, the new Greek (very new, and very little Greek!),

and the bric-a-bracs,—dry and savorless food, and it seemed to us that since we saw the great men of old in their proud rooms in England, France, and Italy—their National Gallery, their Louvre, their Uffizii—we had seen no pictures worthy to be called pictures till we saw these that Mr. Cottier brought us. Here were Millet's prophets and sibyls clad in the weeds of peasants, and making drudgery divine in the farm-yards and pastures of France; and Corot's fairy-lands, whether lit by moon or sun who can tell us? And Monticelli singing us old tales of chivalry and of pleachèd bowers, and of the fountain of youth, and of "La Belle Dame sans Mercy," as Keats and Boccaccio sang them, with Orient colors for the poets' Orient words.

Here, too, was Georges Michel "*Pictor Ignotus*," sitting day after day in his seat on Les Buttes Montmartre, and painting always the one landscape, with such grandeur of feeling and such pictorial power that we are contented never to have him change the scene. The Michel bought of Mr. Cottier by Mr. Williams of New York is certainly one of the most impressive of modern landscapes: Titian or Rembrandt alone could have rivalled it. Yet, until this picture came here, the name of Michel was virtually unknown in America. It was not, however, the mere bringing over of these pictures that entitles Mr. Cottier to an honorable place in the list of influences that are revolutionizing the feeling for art in this country. Mr. Cottier has been one of the most eloquent and unwearied persuaders to the love of art that we have had among us, and he has been as strong and earnest in his advocacy of whatever he has found good in our own art as of what he has found elsewhere. He is not only a man of convictions: he is a man with the finest perceptions, the most generous instincts, and he loves art too entirely and too unselfishly to allow of his being blinded by national prejudices. One room full of such pictures as he brings over, with what he finds here—and he has sharp eyes to find what is good—with him to expound them, and to inspire the young artists with a love of them, is worth far more in our education than twenty Academies.

Almost at the same time with Mr. Cottier's came the colony from Paris and Munich, and the establishment of the new Society

soon followed. Then came the Art-Student's League, the best, indeed the only, school for artists in this country, with all its deficiencies; and on its model, schools have been started all over the country which are sure in time to bear good fruit.

The value of the League to students lies chiefly in the fact that it is not conducted by "professors" and "drawing-teachers," but by artists actively engaged in their profession, and giving to their pupils the results of their own practice. Nor is the management of the school in the hands of any clique or set: the heads of the departments are changed at reasonable intervals, and life and variety are here, to the exclusion of dogma and routine. Outside the League there are other advantages offered to those who wish to study in surroundings less collegiate, in the studios of artists of such proved capacity as Mr. Wm. M. Chase and Mr. J. Alden Weir. Mr. Geo. W. Maynard, an artist of merit, has charge of a class in painting at the Cooper Institute. Even supposing that few painters of exceptional skill are produced by this studio-training, there can be no doubt that the time of the pupils is well spent both for themselves and for the community. Their masters are themselves men who have studied hard in a severe school, and who know how to teach. They give their pupils a sound knowledge of art-principles, and the walls of their studios, hung with good copies and with better originals, educate by daily familiarity with excellent examples.

The Society of American Artists, the Cottier pictures, and the Art-Students' League are missionaries in a field full of incitements to hope, and they have allies in plenty. In the field of wood-engraving it may be said that nowhere at present does there live a man who can at all compare with Henry Marsh, who, had he lived in Dürer's time (but how to fancy such a pure product of the nineteenth century back in the fifteenth!), would not have taken his place among the Little Masters, but would have been folded in the arms of Albert himself as a brother beloved. We have other engravers who deserve well of their country, but Mr. Marsh can do certain things as they never were done before: his work is as original in its method as it is beautiful in its effects. I believe that the few "proofs" that exist of his finest blocks will some day be a prize contended for. They ought not to be allowed to run the risk of dispersion. The work of developing the art of wood engraving in this country, by



employing the best engravers, and by offering such rewards as excited an era-making rivalry in the profession, was undertaken, as all the world now knows, by "Scribner's Magazine," now "The Century." The best that can be done by our best men has appeared in its pages, but a worthier boast is that it has done so much to raise the standard higher and higher; that it is never contented with what it has done, but will always obstinately be "aiming at the sun." "Harper's Magazine" has followed nimbly enough in the path pointed out to it by the younger magazine, but it is always behind its teacher because it will not take the necessary pains with its printing.

In the decorative arts much is doing among us which is interesting, but there is a lull at present in the most important field; the decoration of public buildings and churches, the example set by Trinity Church in Boston and by the Capitol at Albany, not having been followed as it might have been hoped it would be. Unfortunately the work done of late has been confined for the most part to private houses, where it can do the general public no good whatever, since it is not to be seen. The most of this decoration, however, has small relation to art proper, the cases being very few where painting and sculpture of other than a merely refined upholstery order have been employed. In the so provincially styled "palaces" of our very bourgeois nobility the strife is only as to who can get the costliest ornamentation on his walls, and one hears a ceiling in a plain citizen's "State Dining-room" (Listen! shade of Abigail Adams surveying your week's wash drying in the "East Room" of the White House! Listen! and smile a genuine republican smile at the snobbishness of our day and generation!)—one hears this ceiling lavishly praised for no better reason than because marble and onyx, bronze and ivory, and mother-of-pearl have been employed in carrying out the designer's scheme. But this is the art of barbarians—true art is smothered to death under this parade. The Italians in their good time knew how to make ceilings and walls beautiful with nothing better than Angelo and Raphaël and Correggio had to offer, but then the rich men of that time knew how to set artists at artists' work. So far as I know, only one house in this city has set the example of making all its decoration subordinate to the painting of an artist. Its beautiful rooms are so arranged that one of the best of our younger painters, Mr.



Francis Lathrop, has had a field at his disposal for the exercise of his charmingly poetic art. The house, delightfully designed no less for comfort than for elegance, and furnished with a sensitive eye to harmony of color and form "all perfect, finished to a finger-nail," is yet seen to be separated from the eager herd of "decorated" houses just by the prominence given by its fair president to the artist's work, which he has made lovely with nothing costlier than his every-day brushes and colors, seasoning these well, however, with a sparkling dash of brains.

In other directions, such as stained glass and embroidery, we shall no doubt do beautiful things when we have got over our infantine delight at our successes, and have come to the sane conclusion that after all the practice of the old men was not so altogether ridiculous as a few callow young men and maidens would persuade themselves and others that it was. When we have passed the point where an overloaded piece of embroidery can be triumphantly declared to be "the most magnificent piece of work, without question, that exists to-day *in the world*," and when a crowd of silly people are to be found to assent to the praise; when we can hear the kaleidoscopic, inconsequence of the stained glass that is now the rage, rated at its true value, mere gewgaw prettiness, without artistic or intellectual character; and when architects refuse to let the entrances to the houses they design, nay, the whole façade, be ruined by the loss of its most important feature—the expressiveness given by the dark of a window properly glazed—owing to the use of this tiresome "opalescent" glass (one of the silliest fads of the "decorative" school of the day),—when, in fine, we have worked off some of this effervescent delight in our new toys, and have come back to first principles, there can be no doubt we shall see the higher art of our pictures and statues supported by a great perfection in the minor arts. Just now we are overdoing almost everything—

"My heart leaps up when I behold  
A Quaker lady nigh."

And a Quaker room with furniture innocent of carving or mouldings and with one really good picture on the wall would be a relief to-day in the midst of this riot of upholstery.

CLARENCE COOK.

## THE MOST RECENT PHASES OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

### FIRST ARTICLE.

THE second session of the last or Forty-seventh Congress will undoubtedly stand in the fiscal and political history of the United States as marking a transition-period in the sentiment of the country in respect to the tariff question of no little economic and political importance. With the termination of the war and its requirement for vast expenditures, it might naturally have been supposed that the whole of the vast and onerous system of taxation which the war made necessary would have been promptly reconstructed with a view to the entire abandonment or extensive reduction of no small number of its burdens; and in the department of internal revenue this was indeed done, but very slowly. But in the matter of taxes upon imports, from which the largest proportion of the national revenues, and the largest sums ever collected by any nation from such sources, are derived, not only has there been no reduction whatever in the average rates imposed during the war, but on the contrary, and in the case of very many articles, the taxes have been very largely increased. That such a course of fiscal policy, or "*the maintenance of war-taxes in time of peace*," as it has been fittingly termed, should not fail to encounter some considerable measure of popular disapproval might also have been naturally supposed; for the popular mind, altho knowing little and caring less concerning economic matters, nevertheless moves pretty promptly and directly to the conclusion that there is an intimate connection between high taxes and

an increased cost of living and of production. But, singularly enough, this sentiment of disapproval has, until a very recent period, been comparatively limited. In the first place, the masses, finding it easy, through the great natural resources and rapid development of the country, to obtain employment and a living, and being also naturally disinclined to reason on such subjects, have either allowed themselves to remain indifferent or to be easily persuaded into the acceptance of any opinions or assumptions that might be plausibly urged upon them. While, in the second place, the so-called manufacturing interests of the country, accepting almost universally the proposition that the maintenance of high taxes upon the importation of nearly all foreign products, and the abandonment of all federal taxes upon all similar or competing domestic products, were essential to their prosperity, have through their intelligence, social position, and large command and use of money wielded an influence in behalf of their faith so irresistible, that the prediction has often been expressed that nothing could prevail against it until natural circumstances forced its representatives to radical differences of opinion among themselves.

The business of dissent from the tariff policy of the federal government since the war has therefore been mainly relegated (one meaning of which term is "to banish") to a comparatively few persons, and those mainly clear-headed and enthusiastic young men, who, as has always been the case in every other movement in the world's history for the extension of human liberty, have had but the minimum of personal grievance to complain of, but whose motive and inspiration, impelling to work and sacrifice for the cause they advocated, was simply the love of truth and right, for the truth and right's sake. To men whose opinions about the tariff are controlled mainly by their pocket interests, and indeed to all who have been educated to believe that government—which never has anything in the way of money or property but what it has previously taken from the people—can create national prosperity by arbitrarily taking the result of accumulated labor from one man and arbitrarily giving it to another, such motives appear absurd and incredible; and in default of any other motives that would seem reasonable to those thus reasoning, the hypothesis of

organized corruption and thorough disloyalty to American institutions has been resorted to, proclaimed, and extensively accepted. Hence the statements first made, it is believed, by Horace Greeley and H. C. Carey, and since positively repeated and enlarged upon by such men as W. D. Kelley, Cyrus Hamlin, president of Middlebury College, Vermont, John L. Hayes, late President of the Tariff Commission, and many other lesser lights, that the leaders of the cause of "free trade," "tariff for revenue only," and "free ships," and the repeal of our navigation laws, receive their inspiration and were bought up to do their work through "British gold;" and that organizations for the purpose of raising and disbursing funds for such purposes in the United States—as, for example, the Cobden Club—regularly existed and were successfully operated in Great Britain. Such statements and assertions up to the present time have seemed too silly to require anything in the way of positive challenge and denial; but when a recurrence to and a general use of them still constitute a marked phase of the current tariff discussion, and seem likely to continue, it may be well to here state, for the special benefit of those whose character and self-respect, in spite of most decided opinions and prejudices, will not allow them to deliberately falsify, first:

That the transmission on the part of any organization or individual in Great Britain or Europe to the United States of money or credit, to the extent of a single dollar, for the purpose of aiding any free trade or anti-protection movement in the latter country is not known to any American representative of such movement to have ever occurred; and the receipt of any such aid by any journal or organization advocating free trade in the United States, or by any person officially connected with such organization, is not only here unqualifiedly denied, but the ability on the part of any one to furnish a scintilla of evidence to the contrary is also here positively challenged and disputed. And secondly, as respects the Cobden Club, which is declared and extensively believed by protectionists to be a foreign propaganda of free trade of wonderful activity, and the organization through which large sums of money are constantly raised and disbursed for influencing public opinion in the United States, the following statements are further submitted. This club was founded in

1866 with the object of encouraging the growth and diffusion of those economic and political principles with which the name of Richard Cobden is associated, and which are also briefly but comprehensively expressed in the motto which the club has adopted and caused to be engraved upon its seal; namely, "*Free Trade, Peace and Good Will among Nations.*" Altho the headquarters of the Cobden Club are in London, it enrolls among its members nearly all the leading economists and statesmen of Europe: as, for example, Gladstone, Bright, the Duke of Argyle, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Charles Dilke, Robert Giffen, Thomas Brassey, and James Caird, of England; Léon Say, Leroy Beaulieu, Jules Simon, Henri Cernuschi, and Maurice Block, of France; Schulze-Delitzsch and Karl Blind, of Germany; Emilio Castelar, of Spain; Frère Orban and M. Laveleye, of Belgium; Prof. Cossa, Quintine Sella, and Marco Minghetti, of Italy; and in the United States, Pres. Woolsey, Anderson, Gilman, and Gen. Walker; Geo. Bancroft, Edward Atkinson, C. F. Adams, Jacob D. Cox, H. W. Beecher, E. N. Horsford, E. P. Whipple, and Hugh McCulloch; while on the roll of deceased members are found the names of Baron Bunsen, Count Corsi, Léon Gambetta, Michel Chevalier, James A. Garfield, John Stuart Mill, L. F. S. Foster, Charles Sumner, H. W. Longfellow, R. W. Emerson, Samuel Bowles, W. C. Bryant, Francis Lieber, Isaac Sherman, Amasa Walker, Samuel Ruggles, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and others: the name of any one of whom is sufficient proof that no organization in which it was voluntarily, continuously, and sympathetically enrolled, could be anything not in the highest degree honorable and open in all its transactions to public inspection. The receipts and expenditures of the Cobden Club are annually audited and published in detail in the leading journals of England; and its total income for the carrying out of its plans has never been as much in any one year as \$15,000; with the single exception of 1881, when a special publication fund of \$8860 was contributed, and of which \$5140 was appropriated for the publication and distribution of works on "*Systems of Land Tenure.*" From the regular receipts are defrayed the expenses of an annual dinner of the members; the salaries of a secretary and clerk; the expense of medals which the club annually awards for the best essays on any subject connected with political



economy by the students of various leading colleges in the world (Harvard, Yale, and Williams, in the United States); and the publication and distribution of a great variety of books and tracts on many subjects, additional to those pertaining specially to free trade.<sup>1</sup> When, therefore, Hon. W. D. Kelley, M. C., declared, in the political campaign of 1880, that the Cobden Club had raised and transmitted to the United States more than a million of dollars for influencing the national election of that year; and the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, a minister of the gospel and president of a New England college, writes in the Journal of the American Agricultural Association for November, 1882, that the Cobden Club "*has expended vast sums during the last twelve or fifteen years to incite our (American) farmers against the government and our manufacturers;*" and that "millions of copies of an appeal to American farmers were issued" (by it) "and distributed all over the land," it is certain that these gentlemen, if they claim to be men of honor, have placed themselves in a position not a little embarrassing and dishonorable. For they either knew or did not know whereof they affirmed. If they knew, then they were guilty of uttering unqualified and intentional falsehoods; and if they did not know, they used words without meaning, and recklessly, if not intentionally, deceived their hearers or readers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is a more detailed exhibit of the income of the Cobden Club since its organization, as derived from its official reports: For the seven years from 1866 to 1873 the total income was £8204 (\$41,020), or at the rate of \$5857 per annum; 1878, £1529; 1879, £1825; 1880 (the year of the U. S. Presidential election), £2557; and for 1881, £4163, of which £1028 were appropriated to the publication of works on the subject of land-tenure. Among other works published or distributed by the Club during this same year, when, according to Judge Kelley, a million of dollars was appropriated to the United States, were Caird's "Landed Interest;" Maclehoose's "Value of Political Economy;" Waterson's "British Commerce;" "The Financial Reform Almanac;" Apjohn's "Cobden and Bright;" Potter's "Workman's Views of Free Trade;" Krebs's "Workingman on Reciprocity;" together with reports of meetings, lists of members, accounts, etc. etc.

<sup>2</sup> As further illustrating, notwithstanding the above exhibit, the extent to which the Cobden Club has been effectually used as a "bogie" in the United States for the raising of money and the controlling of votes in support of high protection, attention is also asked to the following extract from the Report of the American Iron and Steel Association for the year 1881: "During the Presidential and Congressional campaign of last year" (1880) "the Cobden Club of England



Recurring to the assertion before made, that the last session of the last or Forty-seventh Congress marks a transition-period of permanence and importance in the sentiment of the country on the tariff question, the following review of the situation would seem to forbid any other conclusion.

Nothing is more sensitive to changes in public opinion than the American politician, or more quick to respect them than the Federal Congress; and the circumstance that Congress at its last session devoted most of its time to a consideration of a reform of the tariff, and that the political party dominant in both Houses did not dare to adjourn without taking some action upon it, even tho such action, as it turned out to be, was little more than a pretence, is certain proof that the tariff, from a merely political point of view, cannot longer be treated, and as in former years, with political neglect and indifference.

Again, no one who has given the subject any attention has any doubt that the United States has at present more active capital, machinery, and labor engaged in the so-called work of manufacturing than is necessary to supply any present or immediate prospective demand for domestic consumption. And as general evidence confirmatory of this position, citation may be made, *first*, of the general and increasing complaint on the part of American manufacturers of *over-production*; in connection with which attention is here asked to the very significant fact recently brought out by the *N. Y. Public*, namely, that while the domestic exchanges for the past year (1882) show a very marked increase as respects the manufacturing centres of the country, the exchanges at the great distributing centres on the other hand show a marked decrease, with accompanying heavy losses and shrinkage in business. *Second*, the interruption of great branches of domestic industry, of which examples are to be found in the recent suspension of the entire business of

threw off all disguise, and sought directly to influence the free expression of the popular will in many States by circulating large quantities of English-printed books and pamphlets which outrageously misrepresented the effects of our protection policy," etc. This association promptly undertook the work of counter-acting this movement of the Cobden Club, and a series of protective tracts, embracing over half a million copies, was printed and circulated in the wake of the free-trade publications."

cotton manufacture in Philadelphia and vicinity; of the discontinuance in all or great part of the India-rubber and gunny-bagging manufacture; of the reduction of sugar-refining industry to about 60 per cent of its existing capacity; and the suspension or failure of some of the most important iron-furnaces and rolling-mills of the country. And *third*, the actual or attempted reduction of wages in almost every department of domestic manufacturing industry; the recent united effort for this end of the representatives of all the iron-works west of the Alleghanies being especially noteworthy.

Next, a large amount of evidence to the same effect of a more specific character, and in the highest degree interesting and instructive, has also recently been made public. Thus, during the past winter, a resolution was introduced into the Legislature of Massachusetts urging upon the representatives of that State in Congress "*the importance of reducing the national taxes and the propriety of abolishing as fast as possible (without too great injury to vested interests) the taxes upon imports, except so far as may be necessary for a revenue to meet the prudent and economical expenses of the government.*" Had such a resolution been introduced into this body five or ten years ago it would probably have been received with almost as much of surprise as a resolution in favor of the re-establishment of domestic slavery, and would probably have been as uncereemoniously treated. And as it was, had the committee to whom the resolution was referred been governed solely by their private opinions, a majority, it is understood, would have summarily voted "leave to withdraw." But under the circumstances a full and respectful hearing, extending over some weeks, was granted to all interested. And to this hearing came, among others, Mr. Howard M. Newhall, one of the leading shoe-manufacturers of the famous Massachusetts shoe-manufacturing town of Lynn, who gave testimony of such a startling character that any discussion of the subject would be incomplete that failed to embody its nearly complete statement as reported.

"I have come before this Committee," said Mr. Newhall, "to present a few facts in regard to one specific branch of business interest—a protected shoe industry. The shoe industry is the most thoroughly American in its parts of any of our great industries. A few years before 1860 few

would have dared to predict that a shoe could ever be made by machinery, or that in a quarter of a century there would be so many people employed in making shoes by machinery as to render the American market altogether too small for their industrial capacity. Yet such is the fact. In Lynn alone the capacity is three hundred thousand pairs of shoes per week, and Lynn is only one great representative of a great many shoe-manufacturing centres in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and the West. This is its present capacity, but the power of enlarging this capacity is unlimited. This whole system could be duplicated and reduplicated if necessary within a short term of years. With such facilities it is very natural that the business should soon outgrow the home consumption. Where a few years ago it took nine months in each year to shoe this country, it now takes but six months, and, with the present increase of factories, a few years hence it can be done in less than that time. Of course the increase of capacity engenders competition among the manufacturers, and there is a constant incentive to underbid the market to secure trade. As in all trade, a low price (often quoted) "sets" the market, and in order to meet the market articles have to be made cheaper at the expense of the operatives. If the materials used to make a shoe go up in price, labor always has to go down. Strikes result, as that seems to be the only way the laborer can protect himself from the encroachment of the employer. In a general strike in a shoe-manufacturing centre the operatives often gain temporary advantage, but with a supply greater than demand it cannot long continue. A shoe-factory is what might be called "portable," and when a manufacturer cannot have his own way in one locality he goes where he can. When he finds he cannot make shoes cheap enough in some great centre, he finds some quiet country town where he starts a factory and is able to make shoes at less price. His city competitor is deprived of just so much work, and is obliged to ask of his employes a reduction in wages if they wish to save their work from going away. The general sequence of a strike, then, is the establishment of country factories, so called, and the sequence of country factories is a forced reduction in wages. Every time this programme has been repeated in the last few years it has left wages on a lower basis."

"Gentlemen, do not blame the manufacturer for trying to meet the market, or blame the operative for resisting a reduction in wages. It all goes to show that the supply is greater than the demand, and that our market is not large enough. Perhaps you may wonder how and where we are "protected" in our shoemaking. I will mention two or three articles specially, and speak of the others generally. Take, for instance, serges or lastings. The average duty on the serges or lastings used in the manufacture of shoes is 85 per cent. And how many factories do you think are protected by this enormous duty? I know of only two—one at Oswego, N. Y., the other at Woonsocket, R. I. I may be in error, but these are all which have been named to me, altho I have made diligent inquiry. As another instance, take that well-known article, French kid,

or, in fact, kid of any foreign make. Kid requires a duty of 25 per cent on the average. French kid costs all the way from \$18 to \$45 per dozen skins, according to the quality. An average skin would cost about \$30 per dozen, and each skin would cut about one pair of shoes. Hence the prospective penalty for wearing soft, pliable French kid shoes is sixty cents before the process of making the shoe has begun. This appeals to our own pockets, but in its broader sense we are at just sixty cents' disadvantage in competition with the rest of the world in that grade of shoe. The light, pliable glove-calf of foreign manufacture is taxed by a duty of 20 per cent. I have selected the serges, kid, glove-calf, which perhaps form a sufficient variety to illustrate the argument. In the warm climates where we must push our foreign shoe-trade, those of the inhabitants who wear shoes require just these very kinds of shoes which have been mentioned. American calf, goat, or grain is too heavy for use in warm countries, and if we are to compete with foreign manufacturers we need every advantage of competition. Cottons, nails, tacks, buttons, thread, all have to be used in the make-up of a shoe, and they are protected. The iron from which we make our machinery is protected. If, as is facetiously said, we make shoes of paper, that is protected too. In short, you have paid a duty on nearly every component part of the shoe which you are now wearing on your foot."

"America is the home of the shoe-trade. Almost every other large manufacturing business was imported, and mechanics had to be taught by men who were paid to come here and teach them. But the Yankees invented their own shoe-machinery, and no one had to be imported to teach them how to run it. The best educated factory population in New England is that found in your "shoe-towns." They are thrifty, strive to own their own homes, and represent the very best side of a working population."

"Perhaps you may ask what may be the general opinion of the Lynn shoe-manufacturers on any question looking toward a modification of the tariff. There has been but one organized effort to test their opinion, and that a short time since, when an effort was made to increase the duty on India skins from 15 per cent to 25 per cent. A petition was sent to Washington, very generally signed by the shoe-manufacturers, protesting against any increase; and from this we may judge that they are alive to the fact that their next move is toward reduction.

"A removal of duty from all articles used in the manufacture of a shoe would be an advantage to employer and employed. Why, up in Canada, and in the provinces, they have been obliged to protect themselves from American shoes by a duty of 25 per cent; and even tho we are having to pay a tariff on importation and exportation we are sending as many shoes into Canada as ever. This alone proves what our shoe-manufacturing industry is capable of achieving if it can have a chance. There is no other country knows how, or could make shoes as fast and as cheap as the Yankees, and all we need is one end of the bargain. If we are able to sell



our goods when protected and protected against, if half the disadvantage we now stagger under were removed, we could soon push ourselves into a place where the world's buyers could not afford to purchase from any other market."

During the year ending March 1, 1883, 62 new paper-mills have gone into operation, and 37 additional were in course of construction. The *Paper-Trade Journal* thus reports the opinions concerning the prospect ahead of certain leading members of this department of manufacturing industry: Wellington Smith, of Lee, Massachusetts, thinks the present supply of paper in the United States is in excess of the demand; that prices are lower than last year, and that his mills find it necessary to suspend one, two, or three days in the week in dull times, "giving the help something to live on and keeping the organization complete." But as the *Springfield Republican* in commenting on this state of affairs significantly remarks, "if this remedy is resorted to frequently, this condition is likely to become chronic and somebody projects a new mill to do the very work which ought to be done in the idle 'one, two, or three days' of the existing mills." William A. Russell, a leading paper-manufacturer and a representative of Massachusetts in Congress, says that low water has restricted production heretofore, but "when the old mills are turning out their full product, and this new product is placed upon the market, we are to see a crowded and restless time among manufacturers." He thinks that even the pulp-makers, "with 15 new pulp-mills started during the past year," "will find difficulty in marketing their pulp in the immediate future."

A comparatively few years since the India-rubber manufacturers operated their mills full time all the year through. Consumption within the last three years is said to have doubled, and to have attained a present annual value of \$38,000,000. But the capacity of the mills in existence at the same time is also reported to be equal to supplying an annual domestic consumption of full \$60,000,000; and there being no such demand, the manufacturers have gladly taken advantage of a "corner" in their raw material to almost entirely suspend production.

Gunny-cloth is the name given to a coarse textile used largely



for cotton baling and other bagging, and manufactured from the coarse, cheap fibre of the butts, or lower part of the stalk of the plant that yields the so-called "jute" fibre. As the jute plant has thus far been successfully grown only in India, and as labor in that country is in most plentiful supply, at rates of wages which even in the much-talked-of "pauper countries" of Europe would be considered as insufficient, it would seem, reasoning *a priori*, utterly hopeless to expect that any manufacturer could ever successfully make gunny-cloth in the United States, even if he were not under the necessity of transporting his raw material twelve thousand miles, or half round the globe, and of paying a duty on its arrival of \$6 per ton. And yet through the invention and application of machinery with which the hand-labor of India cannot compete<sup>1</sup> this has been done to such an extent that the United States now practically manufactures its own gunny-cloth, and the importation of this article from India, which was formerly very great, has become compar-

<sup>1</sup> The following story, which comes to the writer as strictly authentic, strikingly illustrates the nature and economic effect of this new application of machinery, and it also constitutes a demonstration of the falsity of the popular assertion and belief that it is the comparative rates of wages in different competing countries which determines the comparative cost of production and the necessity of tariff protection.

Some time since a gentleman, manifestly of oriental lineage, appealed for leave to inspect the operations of one of the large gunny-cloth manufactories in the vicinity of New York. He was courteously admitted, when the following conversation ensued:

Oriental—I have come all the way from Calcutta to find out why you Americans no longer import my bagging as you used to, but instead of it import the jute butts and make the bagging here; I don't understand it.

Manufacturer—Because we can manufacture cheaper here than you in Calcutta.

Oriental—How can that be? What does that weaver earn a day?

Manufacturer—About a dollar and a half. It is heavy work.

Oriental—Well, weavers in Calcutta work for less than a tenth part as much.

Manufacturer—Yes; but what does it cost you to weave your bagging per yard?

Oriental—About three cents.

Manufacturer—Well, that weaver's work costs half a cent a yard, and we can make a better article than the imported cloth with a less weight of fibre. That is the difference between our machinery and yours. Now do you see it?

Oriental—I see that I have come all the way from Calcutta to find out that I am a—fool not to have seen it before. Good-morning.

atively unimportant; the decline in imports of gunny-bagging having been from 18,800,000 lbs. in 1872 to 2,490,000 lbs. in 1882; and of gunny-cloth, not bagging, from 32,000,000 lbs. in 1867 to 226 lbs. in 1882. On the other hand, the importation of jute butts (the raw material) increased from 157,000 bales in 1874 to 320,174 in 1882. The success which attended the efforts of those who originally embarked in this manufacture was such that others have been rapidly tempted to engage in it, so that there are now about 30 manufactories of gunny-cloth and cotton bagging in the United States, with a reported capacity of producing 50,000,000 yards a year, or a quantity sufficient to bale a crop of cotton 2,000,000 bales larger than has as yet been produced. Under such circumstances the manufacturers are especially troubled with "over-production." The stock on hand is reported to be enormous: some mills have failed; others have shut down temporarily or permanently; while the sense of a general meeting of manufacturers recently convened in New York was to voluntarily close all their mills until the present stock on the domestic market is greatly reduced or exhausted.

Now these and many other similar illustrations which might be further adduced, did space suffice, demonstrate beyond all question that the present most urgent and most important question of the hour—a question that admits and will demand consideration alike from a political, economic, moral, and social standpoint—is, How shall an extension of markets for the products of our industries be attained? For in default of such a result our manufacturing operations cannot be continued with full activity without glutting the home market with their products; which in turn must force a suspension of business, entail serious losses on employers, and restriction of opportunity for employment and reduction of wages to employés. And it is just this result and state of things which now characterizes the manufacturing industries of the country, and which, under our existing national fiscal policy, is certain to continue. Every manufacturer knows instinctively that if he could produce and sell with greater cheapness he could sell more largely, and so acquire larger markets for his products both at home and abroad. There is no limit to the consumption of desirable commodities, if the price of such commodities is brought within the ability to purchase of those

who desire to consume. There can be, furthermore, no such thing as their overproduction, so long as any backs are bare, stomachs empty, and bodies cold; but there is such a thing as imperfect and faulty distribution of desirable products of labor, growing out of artificial or avoidable impediments such as taxes, selfishness, ignorance, and imperfect methods and instrumentalities of production.

But how shall the American manufacturer produce cheaper (or at least as cheap as his foreign competitor) in respect to many articles for which he has the greatest natural or acquired advantages, and so solve to a great extent the difficulties which now environ him? There are but two ways (it being taken for granted that he is not deficient in the invention and use of machinery).<sup>1</sup> He must have cheaper raw materials, the crude forms of the metals, coals, fibres, dye-stuffs, chemicals, unmanufactured wood, etc., or he must have cheaper wages, or labor.<sup>2</sup> But the former, a tariff like that recently enacted (which levies taxes for purposes other than revenue) *ordains that the American manufacturer shall not have*; (as is strikingly illustrated, for example, in connection with the exhibit above given of the present condition of the domestic gunny-cloth manufacture, by the recent refusal of Congress to take off the duty on jute butts); so that there remains to him the only other alternative to a curtailment or suspension of business, namely, that of reduction of wages. And this is what the American manufacturing employer is now everywhere trying to effect, and what the employé everywhere is instinctively resisting. But what chance has the latter to succeed in this contest, with some six to seven hundred thousand new laborers coming into the country every year from other countries, while the whole number of laborers *primarily* engaged

<sup>1</sup> In view of reports of American consuls that large quantities of old woollen-machinery, which English manufacturers have discarded are continuously bought for the price of old metal and exported to the United States for manufacturing use, perhaps the assumption is not fully warranted.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem as if the talk of the necessity of having cheaper transportation in general was coming to an end when leading American railroads report that they can carry freight at half a cent a ton a mile and make a profit on the transaction; and when the cost of the ocean transport of fresh meat from the United States to England has recently been as low as one cent per pound, or, including insurance commissions, transport, and sale, not in excess of two cents per pound.

in all the manufacturing industries of the country is returned by the last census at only 2,738,895? American workingmen ought, therefore, to clearly understand (and as there is no logic so convincing as scant wages and restricted opportunities for employment, it is only a question of time when they will understand) that however it may have been in the past, when manufactures were comparatively few, now that they are so numerous, if they are to be kept in full operation they must produce more than the country can possibly consume. *A high tariff, under present conditions, therefore, necessarily means low wages.* Undoubtedly some, whose prejudices and interests will not allow them to see what they do not want to, may ridicule such a conclusion. But there is no escape from it; because a high tariff—under which exemption from taxation is the exception—increases the cost of all raw material, tools, and machinery; and to manufacture cheaply, as before pointed out, the capitalist employer using high-priced raw materials, tools, and machinery must reduce wages, or stop through limitation of his market. And when the masses of the American people do once understand this inevitable drift and result of our national fiscal policy, the tariff, instead of becoming a less important issue in American politics, will become the question above all others predominant; and protection of the kind taught by the Pennsylvania school will go down as rapidly as slavery before the uprising of the people, and perhaps with a convulsion financial and commercial.

In no part of the country are opinions akin to those above expressed, or an antagonism to the old-time notions about protection, more rapidly gaining ground, than in New England, especially in Massachusetts, as is illustrated by the evidence respecting the condition of the shoe-manufacturing interests as above given. And when one considers the special interests and position of New England, the wonder is not that such a change in public sentiment is now manifesting itself, but rather that it has not come before. New England has no "raw materials" for her manufacturing industries, using the term in the popular sense. She has no home-supplies of coal, of the metals, of fibres, of chemicals, and of dye-stuffs, and comparatively little lumber. Nearly all of these essentials to successful manufacturing can be obtained in many localities outside of her borders cheaper and

more readily than within her territory. Heretofore the skill and intelligence of her people and her comparatively abundant capital have been to her a protection against these disadvantages. But this protection is now rapidly disappearing. There are just as good Yankees to-day outside of New England as within New England. They have gone from her cold climate and sterile soils to places where the raw material which they desire for manufacturing production is cheaper; and they have carried with them their machinery and the knowledge and ability necessary to make the best use of it. These emigrants from the place of their nativity do not propose to go back to New England to buy anything, which under the protection of the cost of transportation and cheaper raw materials, they can afford to produce themselves; and they mean to supply the localities in which they have established themselves—the South, the valley of the Mississippi, the Northwest, and the Pacific States—with the results of their local industries in these sections of the country. Within the past month a wail has gone up from New England cotton-manufacturers that unless the railroads reduce their South and West bound freights they cannot compete in the manufacture of the coarser cottons with other domestic competitors located out of New England; and every steamship which now sails out of the ports of Charleston, Wilmington, and Savannah is in no small part loaded with cotton fabrics in place, as formerly, with cotton fibres exclusively.<sup>1</sup> Some three years ago ex-Gov.

<sup>1</sup> The following extract from a recent number of one of the most ultra high-tariff journals of New England (the *Boston Traveller*) will be read with interest in connection with this matter:

‘Tho cotton manufacturing in the South is as yet in its infancy, it is nevertheless becoming rapidly apparent that New England must not be too sure of retaining a monopoly of this branch of manufacture. A sharp competition already exists, not only for the trade in sheetings in the cotton States, but Southern cottons are now entering the markets of the Southwestern States, and the New Englander finds himself confronted in all the leading markets of the Mississippi valley with sheetings and shirtings in no way inferior in quality to those manufactured by himself, and which are offered at a less price than he, to make his customary profit, can possibly afford. Instead of a possible competition twenty-five years hence, the danger which threatens the New England manufacturer is already imminent. . . . The Southern mills are not yet producing the finer qualities of goods, but, remembering the history of the last ten years, it is not safe to assume that with the same machinery that is used in the North they will not successfully do this within the next ten years.”



Cheney of New Hampshire, in an address before a local association of cotton manufacturers, called attention to the fact that when cotton-mills now burn down in New England they are not rebuilt; and at the present time, it is reported, that, with one exception of an annex, there is not a single new foundation of a cotton-mill now going in.

There is much in the present and prospective industrial and commercial condition of this country which is analogous to that of England just prior to her decision to abandon the protective policy, which she had maintained for centuries; and those who have the time and opportunity will find much to interest and instruct in examining the history of this period, and especially the speeches of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons and in the spring of 1842. Sir Robert Peel, as is well known, was not one of the original English free-traders, sympathizing at the outset with Cobden, Bright, and other leaders of the new movement, but, on the contrary, was personally in antagonism with them, and a comparatively late convert to liberal commercial opinions. That the strong current of public sentiment in opposition to the further continuance of the corn-laws, which was then everywhere manifesting itself in England and even threatening revolution, had something, perhaps very much, to do with influencing his opinions in respect to the desirability of a change in the long-established fiscal policy of his country, may be conceded; but, at the same time, Sir Robert Peel's whole life and character, and especially his subsequent history, showed that while he ever knew how and when as a statesman to conform to expediency, he was too much of a man to allow expediency to ever become a permanent and predominant basis for his public action; and one therefore must seek for some other motive in explanation of his conduct in radically and rapidly abandoning his long-cherished protection opinions in the spring of 1842, and in the undeviating support which he afterwards gave to the principles of free trade. And this motive is thus set forth by his biographer, Thomas Doubleday, who, after remarking (see "Political Life of Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 380) "that the arguments of the apostles of free trade had made a deep impression upon the mind of the minister," goes on to say that, "*with a population then increasing at the morbid rate of about a million in the short*

*space of three years, he (Sir Robert Peel) had manifestly become penetrated with the conviction that to find employment for the numbers that might in no long time demand it, and in a way not to be resisted, some large extension of foreign trade must in some way be created."* And Bulwer, in his monograph of Peel's career as a statesman, speaks of his being impressed with the fact, which ought to be also pregnant, at this time especially, with meaning to the working men and women of the United States, *that the wages of the workman could not be made higher or more remunerative by making his food dearer.* In bringing forward his scheme for recasting the British tariff in May, 1842, Sir Robert Peel accordingly, while greatly simplifying the customs acts by abandoning the duties on many minor articles, sought more particularly to accomplish, and did accomplish, first, the cheapening of the living of the British people by abandoning or reducing the duties on imports of food; and secondly, the cheapening of the cost of production to British manufacturers by entirely removing the duties on drugs and dye-stuffs and greatly diminishing the duties on the import of many other articles essential to manufacturing. And his great speech of the 10th of May, 1842, explaining and defending his new policy, abounds in practical illustrations which are almost identical with those which are now to be found in the present commercial and industrial experience of the United States. Thus, for example, in speaking on the subject of the then British duties on metals, he says:

"There is no part of the tariff in which we can make more important changes, than in that which relates to the reduction of duty on ores. Whether I speak of iron, lead, or copper, in my opinion great advantage to the commerce and manufactures of this country will result from permitting the entry of these important articles at a much more diminished rate of duty than at present. Let me take the case of copper. At present you cannot import and smelt foreign copper for internal use. You have greater advantages than any other country possesses with respect to coal, and you can apply that coal with great advantage to the smelting of foreign copper; but when it is smelted you cannot make use of it for the purpose of home manufacture, and you send it to France and Belgium to be manufactured. What is the consequence? Why, that those foreign countries can come into the markets of Europe, undersell you in copper, in bolts for the fastening and copper for the sheathing of ships, and in a variety of other articles made of copper and brass."

And he then further points out "that as ships can be fastened and coppered on the Continent at a much cheaper rate than in this country" (England), a very serious disadvantage in the way of the growth of British shipbuilding had been created.

To those familiar with the workings of our existing tariff it seems hardly necessary to point out that the United States in 1883 has almost exactly the same experience in respect to copper that Sir Robert Peel declared was proving so injurious to Great Britain in 1842; that is, we do not permit foreign ores of copper to be taken from Chili and other nations in exchange for our agricultural implements and textiles; we do not allow such ores to be smelted with our coal and our labor, and in fact have actually destroyed great smelting establishments that flourished before the tariff of 1861; we have destroyed the shipping that formerly made such exchanges, and we give a bounty to foreign competitive copper-manufacturers by so shielding the proprietors of our rich mines from healthy competition, that the latter regularly sell the excess of their product over domestic requirement for a lesser price in foreign countries than they will sell in their own country.

Again, on the subject of oils, Sir Robert Peel, after pointing out that British manufacturing industry was then exposed to great disadvantages on account of the high prices of oils, more particularly spermaceti-oil, and that in consequence he proposed to greatly reduce the duties on their importation, went on to say:

"We shall then introduce the product of the American fisheries in competition with our own fisheries, and prevent the price of oil in this country from reaching an extravagant amount. I hope, sir, that I am not needlessly detaining the House, but I want to establish by proof a position, of the truth of which I feel confident, that the general result of this" (reduced) "tariff will be to give a new life and activity to commerce and to make a reduction of those charges which are now incurred by residence in this country. A very short time since the price of spermaceti-oil in this country was from £60 to £70 per ton, but lately it had risen to £95 and even £111 per ton; and the manufacturer who required that oil had no alternative but to consume olive or other vegetable oils which did not answer his purpose so well, or pay an extravagant price as compared with the price of that oil in the United States. There are no oils that can be substituted for it without disadvantage, and yet we have to carry on a formidable rivalry with the United States in some branches of manufac-

ure with the disadvantage of having to pay 8s. per gallon for oil which in America is sold for 4s. per gallon—a difference of 100 per cent.”

So much, then, for one of the most recent and most important phases of the tariff question. An examination of it, such as in part has been here given, ought to abundantly satisfy us that the country has become too big to endure anything in the way of commercial and industrial restrictions except such as are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the state. In fact the people of this country, more especially those of New England, would seem, from the evidence above submitted by the representatives of the Lynn shoe and other manufacturing interests to have come to a “parting of the ways” on the question of their future tariff policy. They may decide in favor of a continuance of such a policy as aims to protect their leading manufacturing interests by duly enhancing the cost of all the elements that enter into them, and learn through costly experience that such a decision means the fiercest of domestic competition, the limitation of markets, and the restriction of industrial growth. Or they may decide to favor a tariff which, while primarily levied “for revenue only,” will at the same time discriminate in favor of and fully protect home industries by removing all unnecessary obstructions to their extension, and so gain for the country such control over the markets of the world as the skill and intelligence of its people fully entitle them to enter upon and possess.

In a subsequent article it is proposed to ask attention to other equally recent and no less important phases of the tariff question.

DAVID A. WELLS.

## ON THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS.

WHAT I am about to write is applicable to the Protestant ministry only; and for the most part I have in mind only the Protestant ministry in this country, altho many of the facts and principles on which I shall dwell have the same significance in Europe that they have here. Let me protect myself at the start against three possible misconceptions: First, In urging the need of an ampler education for the ministry I do not mean to maintain by implication that there is no need of uneducated ministers. There may be use in the world for devout, uninterested exhorters; but clearly it is not the business of universities and theological seminaries to provide such a class of men, and an unlimited supply of such preachers would not meet in the least the need of well-trained ministers. Secondly, I am quite aware that men of genius are independent of systematic training and instituted education. They educate themselves; they are impatient of the easy highway, and, leaping the barriers which common men find insurmountable, they rush to the goal of all training—power. But neither the ministry, nor any other learned profession, contains many geniuses: not one man in a thousand in any profession has even a spark of that divine fire. The practical question always is how are industrious and faithful men of good natural parts to be so trained and equipped as to give them intellectual and moral superiority. Thirdly, If in this paper I say nothing about the sensibility, earnestness, and piety which should characterize the minister, it is not because I do not know that these qualities are essential to the success of his work. I propose to deal only with the surroundings and mental furnishing of the minister, not with his inspiration.

My subject, thus limited, may be conveniently stated in two propositions, as follows: I. The position and environment of



the Protestant minister have changed fundamentally within a hundred years. II. To fit him for his proper place in modern society much greater changes ought to be made in his traditional education than have heretofore been attempted.

I. Not many centuries ago the clergy were the only men who could read and write; only one century ago they were a large majority of all the men who could be said to lead intellectual lives. In the ten years from 1761 to 1770 the percentage of ministers among the graduates of Harvard College was 29, of Yale 32, and of Princeton 45. In other words, one third of all the educated men were ministers. In the six years from 1871 to 1876 the percentage of ministers among the graduates of the same institutions was in Harvard  $5\frac{3}{4}$ , in Yale 7, in Princeton 17; that is, not more than one in thirteen of the graduates of these colleges became a minister. I lately published a table which exhibited the occupations of 1226 recent graduates of Harvard College. It appeared from this table that two thirds of the whole number had entered professions which may be called learned, namely, law, medicine, theology, the scientific professions, and teaching; but of these two thirds only one man in thirteen was a minister, and the other twelve count themselves fully his equal in intelligence and capacity. If, however, we would fully appreciate the very different competition, so to speak, to which the minister of to-day is subjected from that to which his predecessor of one hundred years ago was exposed, we must go quite beyond these statistics, and consider the undeveloped condition a century ago of the other professions called learned, and the absence of what we now call the press. No public provision was then made for systematically training men for any profession except the ministry. A youth who aspired to be a lawyer or physician could only put himself under the instruction of some established practitioner. The class of men and women who now teach in high-schools, academies, and private classical schools did not exist at all. The scientific professions were not so much as conceived of. The practice of the law related chiefly to real-estate disputes and the collection of debts by the process of imprisonment—except of course that a few eminent men, who lived in or near the maritime ports, got a better business out of shipping or politics. Medicine was an

empirical art ; and altho it was practised by a few men of great natural powers, the barber-surgeon and the ignorant midwife were by no means extinct. Most important of all in this comparison, the modern newspaper, the periodical, and the cheap book did not exist. The weekly sermons and prayer-meetings were almost the sole intellectual exercises of our ancestors in the last century, except for the very few who could afford the costly luxury of books. In our time, four days' labor of one man will pay for more reading-matter than an ordinary farmer's or mechanic's family will care to read in a year : namely, a local paper, a religious paper, a magazine, and some cheap editions of current books. The minister in the quietest village, as well as in the manufacturing town and the great seaport, is in competition with this new teacher, the press, which by the regular and frequent public mails delivers its lessons in every household. It is very clear, then, that the competitors of the minister for consideration and influence have increased extraordinarily in number and power during the past hundred years.

Let us next consider how very different the condition of society is to-day from its condition when Channing was born (1780), and how deeply the great social changes which have taken place since the Revolution have affected the work of the ministry. The principle of association for purposes of business, charity, worship, instruction, or pleasure has been so extended that the extension amounts to the introduction of a new principle. There were partnerships, and in rare cases companies, for business purposes in older times, but no corporations in the modern sense. The church was upheld by the only body corporate, namely, the state. The noun "operative" was not in the dictionary at the time of our Revolution, that mode of human life not yet existing. There was no continual discussion of such social evils as intemperance, prostitution, divorce, and pauperism, and no associated action in contending against these evils. The distinction between rich and poor was far from being as wide and deep as it is now among us. Our forefathers acted as if they had received and acquiesced in the doctrine of the survival of the fittest a century in advance of its discovery ; the sickly among them died, the insane languished or raged in hopeless confinement, and the poor and shiftless went hungry and

cold. No philanthropic notions confused their clear views about the judgments of God and His afflictive providences. No sanitary science disquieted them with suggestions that results which they attributed to the wrath of God might with greater probability be ascribed to the negligence of man. How profoundly changed are the beliefs and expectations of the public on all these subjects! There is no social problem to-day, however difficult, upon which the minister is not expected to have his mind made up, and to be ready for action. Yet the evils to which these problems relate are extraordinarily complicated in their origin and development, and the remedies for them are notoriously difficult to devise and apply, slow-working, and hard to follow out in practical operation. Sentiment is a very unsafe guide in these matters; and the coolest philosopher, acquainted with political economy, medicine, and the history of legislation on behalf of public morality, will be often at fault. All these difficulties which beset the minister of to-day are of recent origin; in this country they hardly antedate the present century. When our grandfathers were in their prime the sciences of chemistry, zoölogy, and geology were in a very rudimentary condition, while electricity had hardly been discovered; moreover, no natural science had been as yet popularized. The word attributed to God had not been critically compared with His works.

Thirdly, we are to observe that the temper of the public mind has undergone a wonderful change, within a century, upon several points which vitally affect the clerical profession. In the first place, the weight of all authority has greatly diminished, and the sources of recognized authority are quite different from what they were a century ago. The priest, like the secular ruler, has lost all that magical or necromantic quality which formerly inspired the multitude with awe; and the divine right of the minister is as dead among Protestants in our country as the divine right of kings. The authority of the minister is now derived from the purity and strength of his character, from the vigor of his intelligence and the depth of his learning, and from the power of his speech. Candor, knowledge, wisdom, and love can alone give him authority. His cloth, his office, and his sacerdotal quality no longer command in themselves the respect they

once did; forms, rites, and ceremonies may protect him from rude assault, but can give him no particle of power. Again, the people in these days question all things and all men, and accept nothing without examination. They have observed that discussion often elicits truth, that controversy is useful on many difficult subjects, and that in some circumstances many heads are better than one; hence they have learned to distrust all ex-cathedra teaching, and to wait for the consent of many minds before giving their adhesion to new doctrines. We hardly realize how very recently the masses have acquired these invaluable habits, or how profoundly these habits have affected the position of the minister. To the modern mind the exemption of the minister from instant debate carries with it a loss of influence. The lawyer daily encounters his adversary, the business man his competitor, and the statesman his political opponent: but no one answers the minister; and the people think that a protected man may not be a strong man. Thirdly, political ideas have had in this century and this country a strong influence upon theological ideas. The old monarchial and military metaphors which have long been used to set forth the nature of God are less satisfying in our day than they were once; for king, prince, conqueror, and lord of hosts are less majestic titles than they used to be. The grand and beautiful image which rises before our minds at the words "our country" is seen to be an immeasurably worthier object of devotion than any human potentate, and a better symbol of the infinite God. In the brief period since the welfare of the many came to be recognized as the prime object and only legitimate aim of human governments, men's ideas have changed considerably about the government of God. When men perceive that popular governments are possible, and that such governments have been able, even in the course of the few generations during which the right ends of all government have been recognized, sensibly to improve the condition of great masses of mankind, they naturally begin to doubt if men be totally depraved, and if the main object of God's government from eternity to eternity has been the welfare of an elect few of only one species out of the many kinds of creature that joy to live upon this earth; to question the authenticity of alleged revelations which are said to contain

uch doctrine, and to distrust religious teachers whose tenets seem to be so at variance with the cherished political convictions and hopes of the people. In former times religion, with mistaken views of its own function and that of government, bolstered arbitrary power; in our day the principles of free government are undermining the false tenets of religion, but not the true. The Protestant ministry as a whole will not recover their influence with the people of this country until the accepted dogmas of the churches square with the political convictions of the people. This intimate connection between the religion of a people and their politics is no new thing: it is to be seen in the history of all great peoples; and it is likely to continue to manifest itself, "religion," as Lord Bacon says, "being the chief band of human society."

We come now, in the fourth place under this head, to the most potent cause of change in the relative position of the ministry within this century, namely, the rise and development of physical and natural science. The immense acquisitions of actual knowledge which have been amassed in this new field, the great increase of man's power over nature, the consequent changes in each man's relation to his fellow-men and to the physical earth, including the wonderful expansion of his interests and sympathies, his emancipation from superstitions, and the exaltation of his prospects and hopes, are all facts of the utmost moment to the race; but it is not these facts, tremendous as they are, which most concern us in the present discussion. The important point for us now to observe is that, during the growth of natural science, a new method or spirit of inquiry has been gradually developed, which is characterized by an absolute freedom on the part of the inquirer from the influence of prepossessions or desires as to results. This spirit seeks only the fact, without the slightest regard to consequences; any twisting or obscuring of the fact to accommodate it to a preconceived theory, hope, or wish, any tampering with the actual result of investigation, is the unpardonable sin. It is a spirit at once humble and dauntless, patient of details, drawing indeed no distinction between great and small, but only between true and false; passionless but energetic, venturing into pathless



wastes to bring back a fact, caring only for truth, candid as a still lake, expectant, unfettered, and tireless.

“ Work of his hand  
He nor commends nor grieves:  
Pleads for itself the fact;  
As unrepenting Nature leaves  
Her every act.”

The achievements of scientific inquirers, animated by this spirit of sincerity and truth, have been so extraordinary within the past sixty years, and this candid spirit is in itself so admirable, that the educated world has accepted it as the only true inspiration of research in all departments of learning. No other method of inquiry now commands respect. Even the ignorant have learned to despise the process of searching for proofs of a foregone conclusion. Apologetics have ceased to convince anybody, if they ever did. Thus the civilized world has set up a new standard of intellectual sincerity, and Protestant theologians and ministers must rise to that standard if they would continue to command the respect of mankind. How different was the situation of the profession when diplomacy was the only other learned calling! Even the legal profession, as it was gradually differentiated from the clerical, made no such sharp requisition of mental honesty and independence. It is the electric light of science which has made white and transparent the whole temple of learning. These remarks imply that ministers, as a class, and as a necessary consequence of the ordinary manner of their education and induction into office, are peculiarly liable to be deficient in intellectual candor; and that is what I, in common with millions of thoughtful men, really think; and I think further that this belief on the part of multitudes of educated men, most of whom are silent on the subject, is a potent cause of the decline of the ministry during the past forty years. The fault is quite as much that of the churches or sects as of the individual ministers; for almost every church or sect endeavors to tie its members, and particularly its ministers, to a creed, a set of articles, or a body of formulas. These bonds are put on by most ministers at an early age, and must be worn all their lives on peril of severing beloved associations, or perhaps losing

livelihood. The study, reading, and experience of fifty years are supposed to work no essential change in the opinions of the youth. The creed or the articles may be somewhat vague and elastic, but cannot honestly be stretched much. Now the lay world believes in the progress of knowledge, because it has witnessed progress; and it is persuaded that there must be incessant progress in theological science as well as in all other branches of learning. It does not see metaphysicians, physicians, historians, chemists, zoölogists, or geologists committing themselves in youth to a set of opinions which is to last them a lifetime, or even a day; on the contrary, they see all these classes of scholars avowedly holding their present opinions subject to change upon the discovery of new facts or of better light upon old facts, and as a rule, actually modifying their opinions in important respects between youth and age. Indeed, fixity of opinion is hardly respectable among scholars. If it be said that there can be no progress in theology, because revelation was a fixed historical quantity, the answer is that revelation like creation must be fluent; or, in other words, that the interpretation of revelation to the mind of man must be like the interpretation of creation, ever flowing, shifting, and, if the mind of man improves, improving. No other profession is under such terrible stress of temptation to intellectual dishonesty as the clerical profession is, and at the same time the public standard of intellectual candor has been set higher than ever before. This is the state of things which deters many young men of ability and independence from entering the profession, and causes the acknowledged dearth of able ministers. Doubtless public opinion is not perfectly just to the profession, and doubtless the evil which deters young men of promise from entering the ministry is less grave than they think it to be; but the serious facts remain, namely, that public opinion among laymen is adverse to the profession on this point, and that young men of force are deterred by the sight of this evil from entering it.

Finally, it is to be observed that the position of a minister is less stable and his livelihood less certain than it was in the last century. His hold upon his congregation is now purely personal, and is quite unsupported by the state or by any ecclesiastical authority. On the other hand the average pay of

ministers is now larger in proportion to the prices of prime necessities than it was in the last century, and there are many prizes in the profession of large value as regards both money and consideration. In view of these numerous prizes and the small competition for them, the profession is not unattractive pecuniarily. It is not the average earnings in any learned profession, but its few prizes, which induce ambitious young men to enter it.

In 1824 Channing said at the ordination of his colleague, "The communication of moral and religious truth is the most important office committed to men." Forty-five years ago next summer Emerson said to the senior class of the Harvard Divinity School, "To this holy office you propose to devote yourselves. I wish you may feel your call in throbs of desire and hope. The office is the first in the world." The opinion expressed by these two seers rested simply on observation, reason, and experience; they pronounced the judgment of all ages and of all mankind; nothing has ever happened to invalidate it, and every advance which the race has made in knowledge and power has confirmed it. There is no doubt as to the rank of the office; but there is a practical question how men may be made fit to hold it. The calling of the preacher is more difficult now than it has ever been, but it is also loftier, and it ought to be more attractive. The improvement of his hearers in general intelligence, range of interests and inquisitiveness, is a gain to him, not a loss; that he has more comrades in the intellectual life than his predecessors had should be a satisfaction to him; that he has many worthy competitors, who with their various messages claim the public ear, should be no discouragement to him, but rather a stimulus; that greater demands are now made upon the knowledge and judgment of the minister in practical affairs than formerly, should only prompt the aspirant to prepare himself to meet those demands; that the adventitious distinctions of the profession have come to naught should delight him. It is indubitable that the political changes of the past century have been for the better, that the progress of science has made the earth a more cheerful and comfortable home for the race than it ever was before, and that modern society is better worth preaching to than any earlier society. Material well-being has

wonderfully increased, but it was never plainer than it is now, that "man does not live by bread alone." Many new avenues to distinction and usefulness have been opened to men of vigor, but never had the true priest so high a station and so great an influence as he has to-day. As Emerson said here in the address already quoted, "Discharge to men the priestly office, and, present or absent, you shall be followed with their love as by an angel."

It is then a practical and a timely inquiry, How can young men be better trained than they have ever been to discharge the priestly office; how can the traditional education of a minister be modified and enlarged so as to enable him to meet the new demands which modern society makes upon him? I take up here the second branch of my subject, namely, the proposition that to prepare the minister for his work in modern society grave changes ought to be made in his traditional education.

II. In the first place, theological study, if it is to be respected by laymen, must absolutely be carried on with the same freedom for teacher and pupil which is enjoyed in other great departments of learning. This fundamental principle does not at all imply, as some have supposed, that teachers of theology (I use that term in the widest sense) are to have no convictions, or at least are to express none. It simply means that the teacher is free to think and say whatever seems to him good, and to change his mind as often as he likes; and that the pupil is free to adopt whatever opinions or theories most commend themselves to his judgment after he has studied the subject. This academic freedom is much more likely to be obtained in universities, and in cities which are large enough to be centres of diversified intellectual activity, than it is in isolated denominational seminaries. I see, therefore, with satisfaction that students of theology in this country resort more and more to universities and seminaries situated in large cities.

Secondly, two practices which greatly discredit the ministry in the eyes of laymen ought to be stopped: I mean, first, the practice of subsidizing boys in academies and colleges from the funds of sectarian societies, on the understanding that the beneficiaries will subsequently go into the ministry; and, secondly, the practice of supporting in theological seminaries, and ulti-

mately imposing upon parishes, young men of small mental capacity and flaccid physical or moral fibre. The belief prevalent among laymen that boys are tempted to pledge themselves to the clerical profession by the attractive offer of a liberal education, and that incompetent and unworthy persons are drawn into the seminaries by the standing offer of gratuitous board, lodging, and instruction, works incalculable injury to the Protestant ministry. This belief wounds the reputation of the profession in its most vital part; for it impairs confidence in its sincerity. The gratuitous character of the ordinary theological training supplied by denominational seminaries is in itself an injury to the Protestant ministry. It would be better for the profession, on the whole, if no young men could get into it except those whose parents are able to support them, and those who have capacity and energy enough to earn their own way. These tests constitute a natural method of selection, which has long been applied in the other learned professions to their great advantage. Exceptions should be made in favor of needy young men of decided merit and promise, to whom scholarships should be awarded on satisfactory tests of ability and character.<sup>1</sup> It is much to be wished that young men who are not entirely dependent on their own earnings—sons of well-to-do people, for example—should go into the ministry, as they are constantly going into law and medicine. The profession has much to offer

<sup>1</sup> The usefulness of beneficiary endowments seems to me to depend upon the strict observance of the following rules of administration: 1. No aid should be promised merely on recommendations or certificates, or in advance of satisfactory tests of scholarship and character. 2. All awards should be based upon merit, and merit alone. 3. No aid should be given except to persons of unquestionable promise—physical, mental, and moral. 4. An immediate return for the aid should be exacted in good scholarship. 5. The aid should fall short of complete support, except in the case of advanced students who seem capable of such researches as promote the progress of knowledge. 6. All awards should be public, the conditions of award being in every respect calculated to make the receipt of beneficiary aid honorable. 7. No pledges, either explicit or implied, should be taken from beneficiaries in regard to religious belief, personal habits, or future profession, and no services or observances should be expected of them which are not expected of other students. The injury which the indiscriminating use of the large beneficiary funds possessed by some of the most considerable education societies and theological seminaries in this country has inflicted, as I think, upon the clerical profession, is by no means without remedy; but the evil must be recognized by the responsible managers of such endowments before it can be cured.



beside an honorable livelihood: it offers to the fit man consideration, the sense of usefulness, and the great privilege of giving himself to the highest human interests and keeping his mind full of great themes. A young man who has a modest competency, or whose parents can support him, as parents support for years young lawyers and physicians, enters the clerical profession with this great advantage over a man who has no means of living except his salary—he is known to be independent of the pecuniary relation with his congregation, and this recognized independence strengthens their faith in his sincerity and disinterestedness.

Thirdly. Let us consider what the mental furnishing of a minister ought to be. The subjects which in our day should be set before a candidate for the ministry are divisible into two classes: those which every candidate should master, and those from which every candidate should make a limited selection. In any respectable university all the subjects which I am about to enumerate will be somewhere taught, and it does not matter for our purpose in what department the student finds the teacher he needs; but since many of the required subjects are not taught at all in ordinary theological seminaries, it would be necessary for a student who proposed to attend a seminary not connected with a university, to pursue elsewhere some of the preliminary studies. In universities, properly so called, a zealous student ought to have no difficulty in mastering all the preliminary required subjects while a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in counting them all towards that degree. The preliminary subjects which every student of theology should in my judgment be required to master are as follows:

1. Languages: Greek (including New Testament Greek), Latin, Hebrew, and German.
2. English literature, with practice in writing, and study of style.
3. The elements of psychology.
4. The elements of political economy.
5. Constitutional history, or the history of some interesting period of moderate length.
6. Science: Botany, zoölogy, or geology, studied in the laboratory and the field.

The requisitions in the languages other than English are the only ones in this list which are now habitually enforced in theological seminaries. The acquisition of a reasonable facility in reading should be the main object in view while studying all four languages. These linguistic studies are valuable for training, for the ideas and information acquired, and, in the case of Latin and German, for the power to be gained of studying other subjects in books written in either of these languages. A minister greatly needs—no matter whether his congregation be cultivated or uncultivated—a comprehensive and critical acquaintance with English literature; yet how few have it. At present, the theological seminaries enforce no requisitions on this subject; and since many American colleges pay very little attention to it, the degree of A.B. is no evidence that the graduate has had an adequate opportunity of studying English literature systematically. If it be said that this subject can be left to after years and private reading, I reply that there is no study in which good guidance is of more value, that large libraries are not accessible in every parish, and that the policy of leaving the subject to each man's after-study has been tried long and found utterly wanting. That a minister should know something of the science which deals with the phenomena of mind, requires no urging. A knowledge of the first principles of political economy would be useful to the minister in several ways: 1, to guide him in charitable and reformatory undertakings; 2, to guard him against making public mistakes about trade, finance, taxation, capital, labor, and similar topics which are sure to be more familiar to some of his parishioners than to him; and, 3, to offset the general drift of his habitual studies toward a too sentimental philanthropy. The preliminary education of a minister should embrace some fragment of political history in order that he may early learn how all history is to be studied. The constitutional history of England or of the United States, or the history of some important period,—like the period of the Reformation, or of the English Commonwealth, or of the French Revolution,—will answer the purpose. Much more depends upon the method of instruction than upon the choice of a topic. Finally, a minister ought to have gained in youth a good knowledge of at least one branch of natural history, that his powers of

accurate observation and description may be cultivated, and that he learn to comprehend the scientific habit of mind and the scientific method of study. Keen powers of observation serve a minister as well as they serve a poet. The educated and the uneducated alike respect those powers, and enjoy the fruits of their exercise. People will be delighted to hear him describe things which they have often seen but never noticed, and draw fresh lessons from facts they have always known but never put together. A sober love of nature underlies and reinforces love to God and love to man; these sentiments belong together; dissociated they are impaired. No religious teacher can avoid dealing sometimes with the relations of man and God to nature; for these subjects are intensely interesting alike to simple and to cultivated minds. The minister will deal much more wisely with these great themes if he has an intimate acquaintance with some small field in nature's vast domain.

Having finished the preliminary required studies, the candidate for the ministry is ready to enter upon the advanced studies which may properly be called professional. Since preaching is to be his most important function, he will naturally give a good share of his time to homiletics and the practice of writing and speaking. The other subjects which are now included under the comprehensive term theology or divinity may be grouped as follows:

1. Semitic studies: linguistic, archæological, and historical.
2. New Testament criticism and exegesis.
3. Ecclesiastical history.
4. Comparative religion, or historical religions compared.
5. Psychology, ethics, and the philosophy of religion.
6. Systematic theology, and the history of Christian doctrines.
7. Charitable and reformatory methods, and the contest of Christian society with licentiousness, intemperance, pauperism, and crime.

The mere enumeration of these subjects will satisfy any reasonable person that if no more than three years is ordinarily to be given to theological study, election must be allowed among the groups, or no thorough acquaintance with any subject will be attained. The subjects have sufficient range to meet a great

variety of tastes and capacities: they are philological, historical, philosophical, and practical. Any three of these seven groups thoroughly studied, in addition to homiletics and the preliminary required studies, would in my judgment give a far better training for the duties of a Protestant minister in our day than is now offered in any theological seminary within my knowledge. It may be objected to this scheme that it will admit men to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity and to the pulpit who may never have studied church history, or New Testament criticism, or even systematic theology. This result would be possible, and certainly it is not in itself desirable; but let us look at the compensating advantages of the system. In the first place, let me urge the supreme importance of making an exhaustive study of one or two limited subjects, for the effect of such study upon the whole mental and moral disposition. It is the hasty and superficial student who is conceited, presumptuous, and rash. The master is humble, unassuming, and cautious. Secondly, let me point out that theology is already a field so vast that no man can survey it all within three years, even in the hastiest manner, and that it is daily growing vaster still, by the indefinite extension of some of its old subjects, and by the addition of new ones. It is hopeless to try to cover such a field. Thirdly, let it be observed that the object to be held in view in training a young man for the ministry is the imparting of power, not of information, and that the most important step towards getting mental power is the acquisition of a right method in work and a just standard of attainment. But a right method of work may be acquired in the conscientious study of any one of the groups into which I have roughly divided the present subjects in theology; for the true spirit of research is the same in all fields—namely, the free, fair, fearless, and faithful spirit of modern science.

The education of a minister should not end with the theological school, but should be prolonged like that of a teacher or physician to the latest day of his life. He must always be learning and growing. To this end he must make time to read and study every week, and he ought to keep on hand some more continuous and erudite work than sermon-writing. Most ministers run dry, or pump the same water over and over again, like the pumps on exhibition at a fair, which draw only from the lit-

tle box into which they discharge. To guard against this danger, the minister must draw day by day from the living springs of literature, science, and art. The churches are greatly responsible for the desiccation of ministers. They expect from the minister too many services a week; they swaddle him in forms; they look for pastoral visits; they give him insufficient vacations; and they drive or entice him into the fatal habit of prolonged, unpremeditated speech.

It would be a great improvement in the relation between minister and congregation if the minister were frankly allowed sometimes to comment upon a fresh book instead of preaching a sermon, sometimes to read other men's sermons instead of his own, and in general to direct his hearers to good reading, and bring them to know something of the minds and works of the leaders of the race, living and dead. The wise professor or teacher thinks it a very important part of his function to direct the reading of his pupils, and he tries to give that reading as wide a range as possible. If he were forced to do nothing for his pupils but lecture to them himself, he would feel as if he had been thrown back into the Middle Ages. The habits of the pulpit in this respect are a survival of the dark times before printing. Objection may be made to this view, that the religious teacher, unlike the secular teacher, needs but one book—the Bible, to which indeed the Anglican Church would add the Prayer-book. Such an objector would probably think of a minister chiefly as a public reader; for if he admitted the idea that the minister might be also an expositor or commentator, there would immediately arise a demand for a variety of comment or exposition, and other books would thereby be let in. The voluminous issues of the evangelical religious press supply the readiest answer to this objection. It is not given to every able and well-educated man to originate much useful thought; he also does good service who quotes judiciously, compiles well, and knows where to borrow. A skilful and honest purveyor of good mental food is an invaluable person, and a congregation ought to be highly content if it discovers in its minister the gifts of a good purveyor.

Finally, the minister whose education is to be prolonged throughout his life must have liberty of thought and speech.



Many a minister is half afraid to read and study freely, lest he should grow out of his decorous clerical garments. The churches do not give their ministers room enough to grow in. They settle a young man of twenty-five, fresh from a monastic life and with very little knowledge of the world, and expect him to announce a set of opinions on the greatest subjects of human speculation and experience, which he is to hold to during life. For changes of opinion upon points which no discreet and impartial person would consider essential to Christian character or right living, a minister finds himself obliged to leave one denomination and seek refuge in another, or to leave one church and go into another; and every change is cause of reproach and offence. Other learned professions are not so hampered, and if the Protestant ministry is to hold its own in the modern world, it must have, and be believed to have, freedom of growth. Whether the creeds and confessions of the Protestant sects are to be recast or not by councils or synods, no one can tell, and it is not very important to inquire; for the needed liberty may be procured through the quiet action of single churches, or of small councils and local conventions, quite as well as by more general action. When the Protestant churches clearly perceive that creed-stretching and creed-blinking are in the eyes of the immense majority of intelligent laymen demoralizing and contemptible practices, they will find some remedy for the evil conditions which foster these practices. Their own history may well incline them to accord to their ministers some reasonable right of private judgment.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.



Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries



1 1012 01446 0473

**For use in Library only**

For use in Library only

